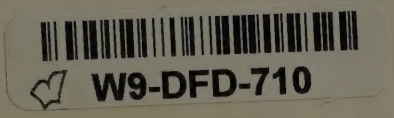
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HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE CONTINENT.

BY
GEORGE BANCROFT.

The Author's Last Revision.

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HISTORY OF THE COLONIZATION

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

IN THREE PARTS.

PART III.

COLONIZATION OF THE WEST AND OF GEORGIA.

FROM 1688 TO 1748.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOUTHERN STATES AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

The Stuarts passed from the throne of England. Distinguished by a blind resistance to popular opinion, they were no less distinguished by misfortunes. During their separate sovereignty over Scotland, but three of the race escaped a violent death. The first of them who aspired to the crown of Great Britain was by the order of an English queen sent to death on the scaffold; her grandson was beheaded in the name of the English people. The next in the line, long a needy exile, is remembered chiefly for his vices; and James II. was reduced from royalty to beggary by his own children. Yet America acquired its British colonies during their rule, and towns, rivers, headlands, and even commonwealths bear their names. James I. promoted the settlement of Virginia; a timely neglect fostered New England; the favoritism of Charles I. opened the way for religious liberty in Maryland; Rhode Island long cherished the charter which it won from Charles II.; James II. favored the grants which gave liberties to Pennsylvania and to Delaware; the crimes of the dynasty drove to our country men of learning, virtue, and fortitude. "The wisdom of God," as John Knox had predicted, "compelled the very malice of Satan, and such as were drowned in sin, to serve to his glory and the profit of his elect."

Four hundred and seventy-four years after the barons at Runnymede extorted Magna Charta from their legitimate king, the aristocratic revolution of 1688 established for England and its dominions the sovereignty of parliament and the supremacy of law; the security of property and existing franchises; but without impairing the privileges of the nobility.

The character of the new monarch of Great Britain could mould its policy, but not its constitution. In political sagacity, in force of will, far superior to the English statesmen who environed him; more tolerant than his ministers or his parliaments, the childless man never won the love of England. In his person thin and feeble, with eyes of a hectic lustre, of a temperament inclining to the melancholic, in conduct cautious, self-relying, fixed in his judgments of men, he relied for success on his own inflexibility and the ripeness of his designs. Too wise to be cajoled, too firm to be complaisant, no address could sway his resolve, nor did filial respect restrain his ambition. His exterior was chilling; in conversation he was abrupt, speaking little and slowly, and with repulsive dryness; yet he took delight in horses and the chase; and in the day of battle the highest energy animated his frame. For England, for the English people, for English liberties, he had no affection, indifferently employing the whigs who took pride in the revolution, and the tories who had opposed his elevation and yet were the fittest instruments "to carry the prerogative high." One great purpose governed his life—the safety of his native country. The encroachments of Louis XIV., which, in 1672, had made him a revolutionary stadholder, in 1688 transformed the impassive champion of Dutch independence into the leader of the English revolution and the defender of the liberties of Europe.

The English statesmen who settled the principles of the revolution took experience for their guide. Somers, the acknowledged leader of the whig party, labored to make an inventory of the privileges and liberties of Englishmen and embody them in an act of parliament. Freedom sought its title-deeds in customs, in records, charters, and prescription. The bill of rights was designed to be an authentic recapitulation of well-established national possessions.

The statute-book of the kingdom knew no other rule than the unity of the church. It was the policy of Bacon almost as much as of Whitgift. A revolution made on the principle of asserting established rights and liberties knew not how to set about reforms. For Scotland the claim of right could, on historical grounds, recognise the abolition of Episcopacy. In

England, it was taken for granted that the Anglican church must subsist as the national church. In the convention which changed the dynasty, there was no party strong enough to carry through a vital change. The king wished concessions, but his parliaments would not support him. No statesman of that day proposed to go back to the second service-book of Edward VI., or to repeal the law of Charles II., which for the first time required Episcopal ordination before presentation to a benefice. In the convocation of the clergy the Puritans were not represented, for the unrepealed law of Charles II. had driven them out of the church. Nothing was therefore done beyond the toleration act of the convention parliament. The old laws insisting on conformity were left in force against Catholics; Protestants were exempted from penalties for worshipping in what the statute called conventicles, provided their preachers would subscribe the doctrinal articles of the church of England. But even this narrow liberty was yielded only at the price of civil disfranchisement. The ministry, the privy council, both houses of parliament, the bench, all great employments, even places in corporations, were shut against the non-conformists, to whom the English constitution owed its salvation.

In Ireland, persecution was double-edged; there was not even a toleration act, though two thirds of the inhabitants were Catholics, and of the Protestants one half were non-conformists. In the next reign, the Anglicans gained fresh powers of harassing those who had carried out most thoroughly the principles of the reformation. To an act of terrible severity against the Catholics, provisions were attached that "if, on the death of a Protestant land-owner, the Protestant next of kin, to whom the estate would lapse, happened to be a Presbyterian, he was to be passed over in favor of a more remote member of the establishment. The English test act was introduced in a parenthesis. The Presbyterians, the Independents, the Huguenot refugees, the Quakers, were disqualified for office in the army, the militia, the civil service, the commission of the peace, and municipal corporations."

But the English revolution at least accepted the right to resist tyranny, even by dethroning a dynasty. The commons of

England, by a vast majority, declared the executive power to be a conditional trust; and the hereditary assembly of patricians, struggling in vain for the acknowledgment of a right of succession inherent in birth, after earnest debates, accepted the theory of an original contract between king and people. The election of William III. to be king for life was a triumph of the perseverance of the more popular party in the commons over the inherited prejudices of the aristocracy. In this lies the democratic tendency that won to the revolution the scattered remnant of "the good old" republicans; this appropriated to the whigs the glory of the change, in which they took pride, and of which the tories regretted the necessity. This commended the epoch to the friends of freedom throughout the world.

By resolving that James II. had abdicated, the representatives of the English people assumed to sit in judgment on its kings. By declaring the throne vacant, they interrupted the dynastic claim to the succession. By disfranchising a king for professing the Roman faith, they introduced into the original contract new conditions. By electing a king, they made themselves the fountain of sovereignty. By settling only the civil list for his life, they kept him in dependence for all other supplies, and these were granted annually by specific appropriations. The power to dispense from the obligation of a law was abrogated or denied. The judiciary was rendered independent of the crown; so that charters became safe against executive interference, and state trials ceased to be collisions between blood-thirsty hatred and despair. For England, parliament was absolute.

The progress of civilization had gradually elevated the commercial classes, and given importance to towns. Among those engaged in commerce, in which the ancient patricians had no share, the spirit of liberty was quickened by the cupidity which sought new benefits for trade through political influence. The day for shouting liberty and equality had not come; the cry was "Liberty and Property." Wealth became a power in the state; and when, at elections, the country people were first invited to seek other representatives than landholders, the merchant, or a candidate in his interest, taught the electors their first lessons in independence.

Moreover, as the expense of wars soon exceeded the revenue of England, the government prepared to avail itself of the largest credit. The price of such aid was political influence. That the government should protect commerce and domestic manufactures, that the classes benefited by this policy should sustain the government, was the reciprocal relation on which rested the fate of parties in England. The accumulations and floating credits of commerce soon grew powerful enough to compete with the ownership of land. The imposing spectacle of the introduction of the citizens and of commerce as the arbiter of alliances, the umpire of factions, the judge of war and peace, roused the attention of speculative men; so that, in a few years, Bolingbroke, speaking for the landed aristocracy, described his opponents as the party of the banks, the commercial corporations, and, "in general, the moneyed interest;" and Addison, espousing the cause of the burghers, declared nothing to be more reasonable than that "those who have engrossed the riches of the nation should have the management of its public treasure, and the direction of its fleets and armies."

Still more revolutionary was the political theory developed by the revolution. The fated period of arbitrary monarchy was come; and was come with the desire of all nations. It was denied to be a form of civil government. Nothing, it was held, can bind freemen to obey any government save their own agreement. Political power is a trust; and a breach of the trust dissolves the obligation to allegiance. The supreme power is the legislature, to whose guardianship it has been sacredly and unalterably delegated. By the fundamental law of property, no taxes may be levied on the people but by its own authorized agents.

The revolution is further marked as a consequence of public opinion. It would not tolerate standing armies, compelling William III. to dismiss his Dutch guards. A free discussion of the national policy and its agents was more and more demanded and permitted. The English government, which used to punish censure of its measures or its ministers with merciless severity, began to lean on public conviction. The whigs could not consistently restrain debate; the tories, from

their interests as a minority, desired freedom to appeal to popular sympathy; and the adherents of the fallen dynasty loved to multiply complaints against impious usurpation, so that Jacobites and patriots could frame a coalition. It was no longer possible to set limits to the active spirit of inquiry. The philosophy of Locke, cherishing the variety that is always the first fruit of analysis and free research, was admired, even though it endangered dogmas of the church. Men not only dissented from the unity of faith, but even denied the reality of faith; and philosophy, passing from the ideal world to the actual, claimed the right of observing and doubting at its will. The established censorship of the press, by its own limitation, drew near its end, and, after a short renewal, was suffered to expire, never to be revived. The influence of unlicensed printing was increased by the freedom of parliamentary debates and of elections, and the right of petition, which belonged to every Englishman. "In the revolution of 1688, there was certainly no appeal to the people." In the contest between the nation and the throne, the aristocracy constituted itself the mediating law-giver, and made privilege the bulwark of the commons against despotism; but the free press carried political discussions everywhere; inspired popular opinion with a consciousness of its life; emboldened the common people in public meetings to frame petitions against public grievances; and became a pledge of the ultimate concession of reform.

The revolution of 1688, though narrow in its principle, imperfect in its details, ungrateful toward Puritans, intolerant toward Catholics, formed an auspicious era in the history of England and of mankind. Henceforward the title of the king to the crown was bound up with the title of the aristocracy to their privileges, of the people to their liberties: it sprung from law, and it accepted an accountability to the nation. The revolution respected existing possessions, yet made conquests for freedom, preserved the ascendency of the aristocracy, yet increased the weight of the middling class, the security of personal liberty, opinion, and the press. England became the star of constitutional government, shining as a beacon on the horizon of Europe, compelling the eulogies of Montesquieu and the joy of Voltaire. Never had so large a

state been blessed with institutions so favorable to public happiness, to the arts of peace, to the development of its natural resources; and its colonies were to participate in the benefit of the change.

The domestic and colonial system of the Stuarts rested on the simple idea that implicit obedience is due from every member of the British dominions to the sacred prerogative of the crown. In like manner the convention parliament and the ministers of King William and Mary applied the principles of the English revolution of 1688 to the reconstruction of America. The revolution restored to Great Britain its free legislature; and it permitted the reassumption of legislative rights by every colony in which they had been suppressed. The revolution vindicated chartered rights in England; in like manner it respected colonial charters. The revolution recovered for the British parliament the sole right of taxing England; and the analogous right was reclaimed by the legislatures of America.

But when, in the course of events, the government at home found that it did not hold the colonies within its control, inferior and irresponsible boards were the first to revive the bad precedents of a wrongful use of the prerogative; or insinuate that parliament should add the sanction of law to royal instructions; or revoke the charters that protected self-government; or legislate directly for the colonies in all cases of a difference between them and the crown; or by its own authority establish a new and complete system of colonial administration. But, at that time, no responsible ministry would seriously undertake the change; still less was a persistent plan transmitted from one administration to another.

After the flight of James II. from England, order was maintained in Carolina by the people themselves. In the territory south and west of Cape Fear the larger part of the settlers were dissenters, willing to be the supporters of order; but they were repelled by the party of the proprietaries, which had nothing better to propose than martial law. On the other hand, the people, in 1690, accepting the authority of Seth Sothel, the fugitive governor of North Carolina, elected a legislature.

The statute-book of South Carolina attests the moderation

and liberality of the laws which derived their sanction from the representation of the inhabitants alone. Methods of colonial defence and revenue were established, and in May, 1691, the Huguenots, so far as it could be done by the South Carolinians themselves, were clothed with the rights of free-born citizens.

The revolution, from its respect for vested rights, at once restored Carolina to its proprietaries; but there was an invincible obstacle to their success as rulers. They coveted a large personal income from their boundless possessions, and were not willing to imperil their private fortunes in the expenses of government, still less in the costly process of reducing insurgents to obedience. As a consequence, the co-existence of a free Carolina legislature and the prerogatives of the proprietaries brought on a succession of indecisive conflicts.

The acts of the people's legislature having been rejected, Philip Ludwell, a man of moderation and candor, once collector of customs in Virginia, and, since 1689, governor of North Carolina, was in 1692 sent by the proprietaries to establish their supremacy. He had power to inquire into grievances, not to redress them. Disputes respecting quit-rents and the tenure of lands continued; and, after balancing for a year between the wishes of his employers and the necessities of the colonists, Ludwell gladly withdrew into Virginia.

A concession followed. In April, 1693, the proprietaries voted "that, as the people have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter, without regard to the fundamental constitutions, it will be for their quiet and for the protection of the well-disposed to grant their request." Palatines, landgraves, and caciques, "the nobility" of the Carolina statute-book, were doomed to pass away. The right to frame a new set of constitutions was not given up; but nothing came of the reservation. For the moment Thomas Smith, whom the people's legislature had disfranchised for two years because he had recommended the establishment of martial law, was appointed governor. The system of biennial assemblies, which, with slight changes, still endures, was immediately instituted; but, from the general dislike of his political opinions, his personal virtues failed to conciliate support. Despairing of success, in 1694, he proposed that one of the proprietaries

should visit Carolina, with ample powers alike of inquiry and of redress. The advice pleased; and the grandson of Shaftesbury, the pupil and antagonist of Locke, was selected for the mission. On his declining, the choice fell upon John Archdale, an honest member of the society of Friends.

The Quaker mediator between the factions, himself a proprietary, was invested with powers; yet they permitted him to infuse candor into his administration, rather than into the constitution of Carolina. He arrived in Charleston in the middle of August, 1695, and was received with universal acclamation. His principles, as a dissenter, pledged him to freedom of conscience; his personal character was an assurance of amnesty to political offenders. Asserting that "dissenters could kill wolves and bears, fell trees, and clear ground, as well as churchmen;" and, acknowledging that emigrants should ever expect "in a wilderness country an enlargement of their native rights," he selected for the council two men of the moderate or "country" party, and one of the "proprietary." This division of power was in harmony with colonial opinion. By remitting quit-rents for three or four years, by regulating the price of land and the form of conveyances, by giving the planter the option of paying quit-rents in money or in the products of the country, he quieted the jarrings between the colonists and their feudal sovereigns. To cultivate friendship with the Indians, he established a board for the decision of all contests between them and the white men. The natives round Cape Fear obtained protection against kidnappers, and in return showed kindness toward mariners shipwrecked on their coast. The government was organized as it had been in Maryland; the proprietaries appointing the council, the people electing the assembly. The defence of the colony rested on the militia. With the Spaniards at St. Augustine friendly relations sprung up. Four Indian converts of the Spanish priests, captured by the Yamassees and exposed to sale as slaves, were ransomed by Archdale, and sent to the governor of St. Augustine. "I shall manifest reciprocal kindness," was his reply; and, when an English vessel was wrecked on Florida, the Spaniards requited the generous deed.

The fame of Carolina increased now that it had had "a

true English government, zealous for the increase of virtue as well as outward trade and business;" and, in 1696, its representatives declared that Archdale, "by his wisdom, patience, and labor, had laid a firm foundation for a most glorious superstructure."

Archdale remained about a year and a half; in March, 1697, immediately after his departure, the Huguenots were, by the colonial legislature, permanently endowed with the rights of citizens. Liberty of conscience was conferred on all Christians except papists. This was the first act in Carolina disfranchising religious opinion.

After Archdale reached England, the work of proprietary legislation was renewed. The new code asserted a favorite maxim of that day, that "all power and dominion are most naturally founded in property." The journals of the provincial assembly show that, in 1702, after it had been read and debated, paragraph by paragraph, the question of ordering it to a second reading was negatived.

The consent of non-conformists had been given to the public maintenance of one minister of the church of England; and orthodoxy had been protected by the menace of disfranchisement and prisons. In 1704, "the high pretended churchmen," having, by the arts of Nathaniel Moore, gained a majority of one in an assembly representing a colony of which two thirds were dissenters, abruptly disfranchised them all, and, after the English precedent, gave to the church of England a monopoly of political power. The council joined in the eager assent of the governor. In the court of the proprietaries, Archdale opposed the bill; but Lord Granville, the palatine, scorned all remonstrance. "You," said he, "are of one opinion, I of another; and our lives may not be long enough to end the controversy. I am for this bill, and this is the party that I will head and countenance." Dissenters having, in November, been excluded from the house of commons, the church of England was established by law. Lay commissioners, nominated by the oligarchy from its own number, exercised the authority of the bishop.

The dissenters, excluded from the colonial legislature and dismissed with contumely by the proprietaries, appealed to the

house of lords, where Somers prevailed. In 1706, an address to Queen Anne in their behalf was adopted; the lords of trade and plantations reported that the proprietaries had forfeited their charter, and advised its recall by a judicial process; the intolerant acts were, by royal authority, declared null and void. In November of the same year they were repealed by the colonial assembly; but, while dissenters were tolerated and could share political power, the church of England was immediately established as the religion of the province, and this compromise continued as long as the power of the crown.

Meantime, the authority of the proprietaries was shaken by the declaration of the queen and the opinion of English lawyers. Strifes ensued perpetually respecting quit-rents and finances; and, as the proprietaries provided no sufficient defence for the colony, their power, which had no guarantee even in their own interests, and still less in the policy of the English government or the good-will of the colonists, awaited only an opportunity to expire.

This period of turbulence and insurrection, of angry factions and popular excitements, was nevertheless a period of prosperity. The country rapidly increased in population and the value of its exports. The prolific rice-plant had, at a very early period, been introduced from Madagascar; in 1691, the legislature rewarded the invention of new methods for cleansing the seed; and the rice of Carolina was esteemed the best in the world. Hence the opulence of the colony; hence, also, its swarms of negro slaves.

Early in the eighteenth century the Carolina Indian trader had penetrated a thousand miles into the interior for the skins of bears, beavers, wild-cats, deer, foxes, and raccoons. The oak was cleft into staves for the West Indies; the trunk of the pine was valued for masts, boards, and joists; its juices yielded turpentine; from the same tree, when dry, fire extracted tar.

But naval stores were still more the produce of North Carolina, where, as yet, slaves were very few, and the planters mingled a leisurely industry with the use of the fowling-piece. While England was engaged in world-wide wars, here the inhabitants multiplied and spread in the enjoyment of peace and liberty. Five miles below Edenton the stone that marks the

grave of Henderson Walker records that "North Carolina, during his administration, enjoyed tranquillity." This is the history of four years in which the people, without molestation, were happy in their independence. "North Carolina," like ancient Rome, was famed "as the sanctuary of runaways;" Spotswood describes it as "a country where there's scarce any form of government;" and it long continued to be said, with but slight exaggeration, that "in Carolina every one did what was right in his own eyes," paying neither tithes nor taxes.

In such a country, which was almost a stranger to any regular public worship, among a people made up of Presbyterians and Independents, of Lutherans and Quakers, of men who drew their politics, their faith, and their law from the light of nature—where, according to the royalists, the majority "were Quakers, atheists, deists, and other evil-disposed persons"—the pious zeal or the bigotry of the proprietaries, selecting Robert Daniel, the deputy governor, as their fit instrument, in 1704 resolved on establishing the church of England. The legislature, chosen without reference to this end, after much opposition, acceded to the design; and further enacted that no one, who would not take the oath prescribed by law, should hold a place of trust in the colony. Then did North Carolina first gain experience of disfranchisements for opinions; then did it first hear of glebes and a clergy; then were churches first ordered to be erected at the public cost; but no church was erected until 1705, and five years afterward "there was but one clergyman in the whole country." The Quakers, led by their faith, were "not only the principal fomenters of the distractions in Carolina," but the governor of the Old Dominion complained that they "made it their business to instil the like pernicious notions into the minds of his majesty's subjects in Virginia, and to justify the mad actions of the rabble by arguments destructive to all government."

On a vacancy in the office of governor in 1705, anarchy prevailed. North Carolina had been usually governed by a deputy appointed by the governor of the southern province; and Thomas Cary obtained a commission in the wonted form. The proprietaries disapproved the appointment, and gave

leave to the little oligarchy of their own deputies to elect the chief magistrate. Their choice fell on William Glover; and the colony was forthwith rent with divisions. On the one side were churchmen and royalists, the immediate friends of the proprietaries; on the other, "a rabble of profligate persons," that is, the Quakers and other dissenters, and that majority of the people which was unconsciously swayed by democratic instincts. From 1706 to 1710, each party had its governor; each elected its house of representatives. Neither could entirely prevail. The one wanted a legal sanction, the other popular favor; and, as "it had been the common practice for them in North Carolina to resist and imprison their governors" till they came "to look upon that as lawful which had been so long tolerated," "the party of the proprietaries was easily trodden under foot." "The Quakers were a numerous people there, and, having been fatally trusted with a large share in the administration of that government," were resolved "to maintain themselves therein." To restore order, Edward Hyde was despatched, in 1711, to govern the province; but he was to receive his commission from Tynte, the governor of the southern division. As Tynte had already fallen a victim to the climate, Hyde could show no evidence of his right, except private letters from the proprietaries; and "the respect due to his birth could avail nothing on that mutinous people." The legislature which he convened, having been elected under forms which, in the eyes of his opponents, tainted the action with illegality, showed no desire to heal by prudence the distractions of the country, but made passionate enactments, "of which they themselves had not power to enforce the execution," and which, in Virginia, even royalists condemned as unjustifiably severe. At once "the true spirit of Quakerism appeared" in an open disobedience to unjust laws: Cary and some of his friends took up arms; it was rumored that they were ready for an alliance with the Indians; and Spotswood, an experienced soldier, now governor of Virginia, was summoned by Hyde as an ally. The loyalty of the veteran was embarrassed. He could not esteem "a country safe which had in it such dangerous incendiaries." He believed that, unless measures were adopted "to discourage the mutinous spirits,

who had become so audacious, it would prove a dangerous example to the rest of her majesty's plantations." But "the difficulties of marching forces into a country so cut with rivers were almost insuperable;" there were no troops but the militia, the counties bordering on Carolina were "stocked with Quakers," or, at least, with "the articles of those people;" and the governor of Virginia might almost as well have undertaken a military expedition against foxes and raccoons, or have attempted to enforce religious uniformity among the conies, as employ methods of invasion against men whose dwellings were so sheltered by creeks, so hidden by forests, so protected by solitudes. The insurgents "obstructed the course of justice, demanding the dissolution of the assembly, and the repeal of all laws they disliked." Spotswood could only send a party of marines from the guard-ships, as evidence of his disposition. No effusion of blood followed. Cary, and the leaders of his party, on the contrary, boldly appeared in Virginia, for the purpose, as they said, of appealing to England in defence of their actions; and Spotswood compelled them to take their passage in the men-of-war that were just returning. But North Carolina remained as before; its burgesses, obeying the popular judgment, "refused to make provision for defending any part of their country," unless "they could introduce into the government the persons most obnoxious for the late rebellion;" and therefore, in February, 1712, the assembly was dissolved. There was little hope of harmony between the proprietaries and the inhabitants of North Carolina.

But here, as elsewhere in America, this turbulence of freedom did not check the increase of population; the province, from its first permanent occupation by white men, has always exceeded South Carolina in numbers. At the confluence of the Trent and the Neuse, emigrants from Switzerland, in 1710, began the settlement of New Berne. German fugitives from the devastated Palatinate found a home in the same vicinity. In these early days few negroes were introduced into the colony. Its trade was chiefly engrossed by New England. The increasing expenses of the government amounted, in 1714, to nine hundred pounds. The surplus revenue to the proprietaries, by sales of land and quit-rents, was but one hundred and

sixty-nine pounds, or twenty guineas to each proprietary. There was no separate building for a court-house till 1722; no printing-press till 1754.

Before the end of April 1689, the accession of the prince and princess of Orange was proclaimed in Virginia by order of the council. In March 1691, Francis Nicholson became Lord Effingham's lieutenant in VIRGINIA. He met his first assembly on the sixteenth of April 1691. The burgesses immediately instructed Jeffrie Jeoffryes, their agent in London, to "supplicate their majesties to confirm unto the country the authority of the general assembly, consisting of the governor, council, and burgesses, as near as may be to the model of the parliament of England, to enact laws and statutes for the government of this country not repugnant to the laws of England; that no tax or imposition be made, levied, or raised upon any of its people but by the consent of their general assembly; that they and their children may have equal rights and privileges with all natural-born subjects of the realm of England, and be governed, as near as possible, under the same method they are; and have the full benefit of the great charter and of all English laws and statutes indulging the liberty of the subjects;" and that there may be no appeals from their courts to England.

The council joined with the burgesses in praying for the confirmation of lands already granted and continuing the power of granting the public lands. They desired the agent of the colony "to take more than ordinary care that their majesties may reunite the northern neck to its ancient government;" and "for the future not grant lands in Virginia under the great seal without first being informed by the governor, council, and burgesses here for the time being whether such grant will not be prejudicial to the country here." *

The English government after the revolution respected the prayers of the Virginians in regard to land; but inclined as little as the Stuarts to acknowledge that their house of burgesses was co-ordinate with the British house of commons, or that they could claim by right the benefits of Magna Charta.

* Compare two letters of instruction to Jeoffryes, from the council and burgesses, and two more from the burgesses alone, all in May 1791; and Nicholson to the secretary of state, 10 June, 1691, and 26 February, 1692. MSS.

In concert with the lieutenant-governor, the burgesses and council sent James Blair the commissary to England. In consequence of his zeal, the college of William and Mary, in age second only to Harvard, was founded and modestly endowed.

A law of 1682 for advancing the manufacture of articles grown in the country, such as flax, wool, and furs, was revived.

The permanent revenue which Virginia had established was used in part to pay a large salary to the sinecure governor in chief of the colony who resided in England. Made wise by experience, the burgesses of Virginia, like those of Jamaica and other colonies, in granting additional supplies, insisted upon nominating their own treasurer, subject to their orders without further warrant from the governor.

Careful to conciliate the assembly, Nicholson made no opposition to any of its acts; but he excused himself to the secretary of state for the law encouraging domestic manufactures. "The merchant," he wrote, "had rather that no more ships come hither than will export half of the tobacco; and then the planters must let him have it at what rate he pleases, and he selleth it very dear. But if neither goods nor ships come, necessity will force the people to leave off planting tobacco and clothe themselves."

He was impatient "till their majesties should place their own governors" over Pennsylvania, Maryland, the Carolinas, and New England, for they might otherwise become "fatal examples by encouraging the mob," and they already harbored runaway servants and debtors and slaves.

On the twentieth of September 1692, Sir Edmund Andros, governor-general of Virginia, published his commission in James City. It fell to him to introduce the general post-office which seven months before had been authorized within the chief ports of British America under the great seal of England.

The constitution of the church in Virginia cherished colonial freedom; for the act of 1642, which established it, reserved the right of presentation to the parish. The license of the bishop of London and the recommendation of the governor availed, therefore, but little. Sometimes the parish rendered the establishment nugatory by its indolence of action; sometimes the minister, if acceptable to the congregation, was re-

ceived, but not presented. It was the general custom to hire the minister from year to year. In 1703 a legal opinion was obtained from England, that the minister is an incumbent for life and cannot be displaced by his parishioners; but the vestry kept themselves the parson's master by preventing his induction, so that he acquired no freehold in his living, and might be removed at pleasure. Nor was the character of the clergy who came over always suited to win affection or respect. The parishes, moreover, were of such length that some of the people lived fifty miles from the parish church; and the assembly would not increase the taxes by changing the bounds, even from fear of impending "paganism, atheism, or sectaries." "Schism" threatened "to creep into the church," and to generate "faction in the civil government." A resident prelate was thought of as a remedy, and at one time "all the hopes of Jonathan Swift terminated in the bishopric of Virginia."

The greatest safeguard of liberty was the individual freedom of mind, which formed, of necessity, the characteristic of independent landholders living apart on their plantations. In the age of commercial monopoly, Virginia had not one market town, not one place of trade. Its inhabitants "daily grew more and more averse to cohabitation;" so that, "as to outward appearance, it looked all like a wild desert." British ships were obliged to lie for months in the rivers, before boats, visiting the several plantations on their banks, could pick up a cargo. The colony did not seek to share actively in the profits of commerce; it had little of the precious metals, or of credit; was satisfied with agriculture. Taxes were paid in tobacco; remittances to Europe were made in tobacco; the revenue of the clergy, and the magistrates, and the colony, was collected in the same currency; the colonial tradesman received his pay in straggling parcels of it. Royalists and churchmen as they were by ancestry, habit, and established law, they reasoned boldly in their seclusion. It was said in 1703: "Pernicious notions, fatal to the royal prerogative, were improving daily;" and, though Virginia protested against the charge of "republicanism," as an unfounded reproach, yet colonial opinion, the offspring of free inquiry which seclusion awakened, the woods sheltered, and the self-will of slaveholders confirmed,

was more than a counterpoise to the prerogative of the British crown. In former ages, no colony had enjoyed a happier freedom. From the insurrection of Bacon, for three quarters of a century, Virginia possessed uninterrupted peace. The strife with the red men on its own soil was ended; the French hesitated to invade its western frontier; a naval foe was not attracted to a region where there was nothing to plunder but the frugal stores of scattered plantations. In such scenes the political strifes were but the fitful ebullitions of a high spirit which, in the wantonness of independence, loved to tease the governor; and, again, if the burgesses expressed loyalty, they were loyal only because loyalty was their mood. Hence the reports to England were contradictory. "The inclinations of the country," wrote Spotswood in 1710, "are rendered mysterious by a new and unaccountable humor, which hath obtained in several counties, of excluding the gentlemen from being burgesses, and choosing only persons of mean figure and character." "This government," so he reported in the next year, "is in perfect peace and tranquillity, under a due obedience to the royal authority, and a gentlemanly conformity to the church of England." The letter had hardly left the Chesapeake before he found himself thwarted by impracticable burgesses; and, dissolving the assembly, he feared to convene another till opinion should change. But Spotswood, the best in the line of Virginia governors, a royalist, a high churchman, a traveller, wrote to the bishop of London, and his evidence is without suspicion of bias: "I will do justice to this country; I have observed here less swearing and prophaneness, less drunkenness and debauchery, less uncharitable feuds and animosities, and less knaverys and villanys, than in any part of the world, where my lot has been." The estimate of fifty thousand as the population of the colony on the accession of Queen Anne is far too low.

Of the Roman Catholic proprietary of MARYLAND, the English "Protestant" revolution sequestered the authority, while it protected the fortunes. During the absence of Lord Baltimore from his province, his powers had been delegated to nine deputies, over whom William Joseph presided. They provoked opposition by demanding of the assembly, as a quali

fication of its members, an oath of fidelity to the proprietary. On resistance to the illegal demand, the house was prorogued; and, even after the successful invasion of England became known, the deputies of Lord Baltimore hesitated to proclaim the new sovereigns.

The delay gave birth, in April, 1689, to an armed association for asserting the right of King William; and the deputies were easily driven to a garrison on the south side of Patuxent river, about two miles above its mouth. There, on the first of August, they capitulated, obtaining security for themselves, and yielding their assent to the exclusion of papists from all provincial offices. A convention of the associates "for the defence of the Protestant religion," assumed the government in the names of William and Mary, and in a congratulatory address denounced the influence of Jesuits, the prevalence of popish idolatry, the connivance by the government at murders of Protestants, and the danger from plots with the French and Indians.

The privy council, after a debate on the address, advised the forfeiture of the charter by a process of law; but King William, heedless of the remonstrances of the proprietary who could be convicted of no crime but his creed, and impatient of judicial forms, on the first of June, 1691, by his own power, constituted Maryland a royal government. The arbitrary decree was sanctioned by a legal opinion from Holt; and the barons of Baltimore were superseded for a generation. In 1692, Sir Lionel Copley arrived with a royal commission, dissolved the convention, assumed the government, and convened an assembly. Its first act recognised William and Mary; but, as it contained a clause giving validity in the colony to the Magna Charta of England, it was not accepted by the crown. The second established the church of England as the religion of the state, to be supported by general taxation. In 1694, Annapolis became the seat of government. The support of the religion of the state, earnestly advanced by Francis Nicholson, who, from 1694 to 1698, was governor of Maryland, and by the patient, disinterested, but too exclusive commissary, Thomas Bray, became the settled policy of the government. In 1696, the inviolable claim of the colony to English

rights and liberties was engrafted by the assembly on the act of establishment; and this was disallowed; for the solicitor-general, Trevor, "knew not how far the enacting that the great charter of England should be observed in all points would be agreeable to the constitution of the colony, or consistent with the royal prerogative." In 1700, the presence and personal virtues of Bray, who saw Christianity only in the English church, obtained by unanimity a law commanding conformity in every "place of public worship." Once more the act was rejected in England from regard to the rights of Protestant dissenters; and when, in 1702, the Anglican ritual was established by the colonial legislature, and the right of appointment and induction to every parish was secured to the governor, the English acts of toleration were at the same time put in force. Protestant dissent was safe; for the difficulty of obtaining English missionaries, the remoteness of the ecclesiastical tribunals, the scandal arising from the profligate lives and impunity in crime of many clergymen, the zeal of the numerous Quakers for intellectual freedom, and the activity of a sort of "wandering pretenders from New England," deluding even "churchmen by their extemporary prayers and preachments"—all united as a barrier against persecution. In 1704, under the reign of Queen Anne, the Roman Catholics alone were given up to Anglican intolerance. Mass might not be said publicly. No Catholic priest or bishop might seek to make proselytes. No Catholic might teach the young. If the wayward child of a papist would but become an apostate, the law wrested for him from his parents a share of their property. The proprietary was disfranchised for his creed. Such were the methods adopted "to prevent the growth of popery."

For a quarter of a century the administration of Maryland resembled that of Virginia. Nicholson and Andros were governors in each. Like Virginia, Maryland had no considerable town, was disturbed but little by the Indians, and less by the French. Its "people were well-natured and most hospitable." Its staple was tobacco; yet hemp and flax were raised, and both, like tobacco, were sometimes used as currency. In 1706, in Somerset and Dorchester, the manufacture of linen, and even of woollen cloth, was attempted. Industry so opposite to the

system of the mercantile monopoly needed an apology; and the assembly pleaded, in excuse of the weavers, that they were driven to their tasks "by absolute necessity." Maryland surpassed every other province in the number of its white servants. The market was always supplied with them, the price varying from twelve to thirty pounds. By its position Maryland was connected with the North; it is the most southern colony which, in 1695, consented to pay its quota toward the defence of New York, thus forming, from the Chesapeake to Maine, an imperfect confederacy. The union was increased by a public post. Eight times in the year letters were forwarded from the Potomac to Philadelphia. During the period of the royal government the assembly still retained influence, for they refused to establish a permanent revenue. They encouraged tillage, exempted provincial vessels from a tax levied on British shipping, recognised the collector of parliamentary customs by regulating his fees, obstructed the importation of negroes by imposing taxes, and attempted to prevent the introduction of convicts. To show their gratitude for the blessings which they enjoyed, they acknowledged the title of George I. They promised a library and a free school to every parish. The population of the colony increased, but not rapidly. The usual estimates for this period are too low. In 1710, the number of bond and free must have exceeded thirty thousand; yet a bounty for every wolf's head continued to be offered; the roads to the capital were marked by notches on trees; and water-mills still solicited legislative encouragement. Such was Maryland as a royal province. In 1715, the infant proprietary recovered his inheritance by renouncing the Catholic church for that of England.

CHAPTER II.

THE MIDDLE STATES AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

More happy than Lord Baltimore, the proprietary of Pennsylvania regained his rights without surrendering his faith. Accepting the resignation of the narrow and imperious but honest Blackwell, who, at the period of the revolution, acted as his deputy, the Quaker chief desired "to settle the government in a condition to please the generality," and to "let them be the choosers." "Friends," such was his message, "I heartily wish you all well, and beseech God to guide you in the ways of righteousness and peace. I have thought fit, upon my further stop in these parts, to throw all into your hands, that you may see the confidence I have in you, and the desire I have to give you all possible contentment." The council of his province, which was at that time elected directly by the people, was, in June 1690, collectively constituted his deputy. Of its members, Thomas Lloyd, from North Wales, an Oxford scholar, was universally beloved as a bright example of integrity. The path of preferment had opened to him in England, but he chose rather the peace that springs from "mental felicity." This Quaker preacher, the oracle of "the patriot rustics" on the Delaware, was now, by the free suffrage of the council, constituted its president. But the lower counties were jealous of the superior weight of Pennsylvania; disputes respecting appointments to office grew up; the council divided; protests ensued; the members from the territories withdrew, and would not be reconciled; so that, in April 1691, with the reluctant consent of William Penn, the "territories" or "lower counties," now known as the state of

Delaware, became for two years a government by themselves under Markham.

Uncertainty rested on the institutions of the provinces; an apparent schism among the Quakers increased the trouble. The ministers of England, fearing the easy conquest of a colony of non-combatants by an enemy, were, in October 1691, inclined to annex Pennsylvania to some province under the immediate government of the king. In this design they found an ally. Amid the applause of the royalist faction, George Keith, conciliating other Protestants by a more formal regard for the Bible, asserted his own exclusive adhesion to the principles of Friends by pushing the doctrine of non-resistance to an absolute extreme. No true Quaker, he insisted, can act in public life either as a law-giver or as a magistrate. The inferences were plain; if Quakers could not be magistrates in a Quaker community, King William must send churchmen to govern them. Conforming his conduct to his opinion, Keith defied the magistracy of Pennsylvania. The grand jury found him guilty of a breach of the laws; an indictment, trial, and conviction followed. The punishment awarded was the payment of five pounds; yet, as his offence was in its nature a contempt of court, the scrupulous Quakers, hesitating to punish impertinence lest it might seem the punishment of opinion, forgave the fine. Meantime, the envious world, vexed at the society which it could neither corrupt nor intimidate, set up the cry that its members were turned persecutors; and quoted the blunt expressions of indignation uttered by the magistrates as proofs of intolerance. But the devices of the apostate had only transient interest; Keith was soon left without a faction, and made a true exposition of his part in the strife by accepting an Anglican benefice.

The disturbance by Keith, creating questions as to the administration of justice, confirmed the disposition of the English government to subject Pennsylvania to a royal commission; and, in April 1693, Benjamin Fletcher, appointed governor by William and Mary, once more united Delaware to Pennsylvania. "Some, who held commissions from the proprietor, withdrew at the publishing of their majesties' commission, and others refused to act under that power."

When the house of representatives assembled in May, it was the object of Fletcher to gain supplies; of the legislators to maintain their privileges. The laws founded on the charter of Penn they declared to be "yet in force; and desired the same might be confirmed to them as their right and liberties." "If the laws," answered Fletcher, "made by virtue of Mr. Penn's charter, be of force to you, and can be brought into competition with the great seal which commands me hither, I have no business here;" and he pleaded the royal prerogative as inalienable. "The grant of King Charles," replied Joseph Growdon, the speaker, "is itself under the great seal. Is that charter in a lawful way at an end?"

To reconcile the difference, Fletcher proposed to re-enact the greater number of the former laws. "We are but poor men," said John White, "and of inferior degree, and represent the people. This is our difficulty; we durst not begin to pass one bill to be enacted of our former laws, least by soe doing we declare the rest void."

The royalists next started a technical objection: the old laws are invalid because they do not bear the great seal of the proprietary. "We know the laws to be our laws," it was answered; "and we are in the enjoyment of them; the sealing does not make the law, but the consent of governor, council, and assembly."

The same spirit pervaded the session; and the grant of a penny in the pound, which, it was promised, "should not be dipt in blood," was connected with a capitulation recognising the legislative rights of the representatives. A public manifesto, signed by all the members from Pennsylvania, declared it to be "the right of the assembly that, before any bill for supplies be presented, aggrievances ought to be redressed." "My door was never shut," said Fletcher on parting; "but it was avoided, as if it were treason for the speaker, or any other representative, to be seen in my company during your sessions."

One permanent change in the constitution was the fruit of this administration: the house originated its bills, and retained the right ever after. Fletcher would gladly have changed the law for "yearlie delegates;" for "where,"

asked the royalist, "is the hurt, if a good assemblie should be continued from one year to another?" But the people saved their privilege by electing an assembly of which Fletcher could "give no good character at Whitehall," and which he could have no wish to continue.

The assembly of 1694 was still more impracticable, having for its speaker David Lloyd, the keenest discoverer of grievances, and the most persevering of political scolds. "If you will not levy money to make war," such was the governor's message, in May, "yet I hope you will not refuse to feed the hungrie and clothe the naked." The assembly was willing to give alms to the sufferers round Albany; but it claimed the right of making specific appropriations, and of collecting and disbursing the money by officers of its own appointment. The demand was rejected as an infringement on the royal prerogative; and, after a fortnight's altercation, the assembly was dissolved. Such was the success of a royal governor in Pennsylvania.

Thrice, within two years after the revolution, had William Penn been arrested and brought before court, and thrice he had been openly set free. In 1690, he prepared to embark once more for America; emigrants crowded round him; a convoy was granted; the fleet was almost ready to sail, when, on his return from the funeral of George Fox, messengers were sent to apprehend him. To avoid a fourth arraignment, he went into retirement. Locke would have interceded for his pardon; but Penn refused clemency, waiting rather for justice. The delay completed the wreck of his fortunes; the wife of his youth died; his eldest son was of a frail constitution; Jesuit, papist, and traitor were the calumnies heaped upon him by the world; yet he preserved his serenity, and, true to his principles, in a season of passionate and almost universal war, published a plea for eternal peace among the nations.

Among the many in England whom Penn had benefited, gratitude was not extinct. On the restoration of the whigs to power, Rochester, who, under James II., had given up office rather than profess Romanism, the less distinguished Ranelagh, and Henry, the brother of Algernon Sidney, for-

merly the correspondent of the prince of Orange, interceded for the restoration of the proprietary of Pennsylvania. "He is my old acquaintance," answered William; "he may follow his business as freely as ever; I have nothing to say against him." Appearing before the king in council, his innocence was established; and, in August 1694, the patent for his restoration passed the seals.

The pressure of poverty delayed the return of the proprietary to the banks of the Delaware; and in 1695 Markham was invested with the executive power. The members of the assembly which he convened in September, anxious for political liberties which the recent changes had threatened to destroy, assumed the power of fundamental legislation, and framed a democratic constitution. They would have "their privileges granted before they would give any monie." Doubtful of the extent of his authority, Markham dissolved the assembly.

The legislature of October 1696, by its own authority, subject only to the assent of the proprietary, established a purely democratic government. The governor was but chairman of the council. The council, the assembly, each was chosen by the people. The time of election, the time of assembling, the period of office, were placed beyond the reach of the executive. The judiciary depended on the legislature. The people constituted themselves the fountain of honor and of power. When, in May 1697, the next assembly came together, Markham could say to them: "You are met, not by virtue of any writ of mine, but of a law made by yourselves." The people ruled; and, after years of strife, all went happily.

In November 1699, William Penn was once more with his colony. The commonwealth had ripened into self-reliance. Passing over all intermediate changes, he upheld the validity of the frame of government agreed upon between himself and the provincial legislature; but proposed, by mutual agreement, "to keep what's good in it, to lay aside what is burdensome, and to add what may best suit the common good." On the seventh of June 1700, the old constitution was surrendered, with the unanimous consent of the assembly and council. Yet the counties or Delaware dreaded the loss of

their independence by a union with the extending population of Pennsylvania. Besides, the authority of William Penn in the larger state alone had the sanction of a royal charter.

The proprietary endeavored, but in vain, to remove the jealousy with which his provinces were regarded in England. Their legislature readily passed laws against piracy and illicit trade; but refused their quota for the defence of New York.

In regard to the negroes, Penn attempted to legislate not for the abolition of slavery, but for the sanctity of marriage among the slaves, and for their personal safety. The latter object was effected; the former, which would have been the forerunner of family life and of freedom, was defeated. By his will, made in America, Penn liberated his own slaves.

Treaties of peace were renewed with the men of the wilderness from the Potomac to Oswego, and the trade with them was subjected to regulations; but they could not be won to the faith or the habits of civilized life.

These measures were adopted amid the fruitless wranglings between the delegates from Delaware and those from Pennsylvania. Soon after, the news was received that the English parliament was about to render all their strifes and all their hopes nugatory by the general abrogation of every colonial charter. An assembly was summoned instantly; and when, in September 1701, it came together, the proprietary, eager to return to England to defend the common rights of himself and his province, urged the perfecting of their frame of government. "Since all men are mortal," such was his weighty message, "think of some suitable expedient and provision for your safety, as well in your privileges as property, and you will find me ready to comply with whatever may render us happy by a nearer union of our interests. Review again your laws; propose new ones, that may better your circumstances; and what you do, do it quickly. Unanimity and despatch may contribute to the disappointment of those that too long have sought the ruin of OUR YOUNG COUNTRY."

The members of the assembly, impelled by an interest common to every one of their constituents, were disposed to encroach on the private rights of Penn. If some of their demands were resisted, he readily yielded everything which

could be claimed, even by inference, from his promises, or could be expected from his liberality; making his interests of less consideration than the satisfaction of his people; rather remitting than rigorously exacting his revenues.

Of political privileges, he conceded all that was desired. The council, henceforward to be appointed by the proprietary, became a branch of the executive government; the assembly assumed to itself the right of originating every act of legislation, subject only to the assent of the governor. Elections to the assembly were annual; the time of its election and the time of its session were fixed; it was to sit upon its own adjournments. Sheriffs and coroners were nominated by the people; no questions of property could come before the governor and council; the judiciary was left to the discretion of the legislature. Religious liberty was established, and every public employment was open to every man professing faith in Jesus Christ.

On returning to America, William Penn had designed to remain for life, and make a home for his posterity in the New World. But his work was done. Having given self-government to his provinces, no strifes remaining but strifes about property, happily for himself, happily for his people, happily for posterity, he returned from the "young countrie" of his affections to the country of his birth.

For the separation of the territories, contingent provision had been made by the proprietary. In 1702, Pennsylvania convened its legislature apart, and the two colonies were never again united. The lower counties became almost an independent republic; for, as they were not included in the charter, the authority of the proprietary over them was by sufferance only, and the executive power intrusted to the governor of Pennsylvania was too feeble to restrain the power of their people. The legislature, the tribunals, the subordinate executive offices of Delaware knew little of external control.

The next years in Pennsylvania exhibit constant collisions between the proprietary, as owner of the unsold public lands, and a people eager to enlarge their freeholds. The integrity of the mildly aristocratic James Logan, to whose judicious care the proprietary estates were intrusted, remains unsullied by the

accusations or impeachments of the assembly. The end of government was declared to be the happiness of the people, and from this maxim the duties of the governor were derived. But the organization of the judiciary was the subject of longest controversy. They were not willing, even in the highest courts, to have English lawyers for judges. "Men skilled in the law, of good integrity, are very desirable," said they in 1706; "yet we incline to be content with the best men the colony affords." The rustic legislators insisted on their right to institute the judiciary, fix the rules of court, define judicial power with precision, and by request displace judges for misbehavior. The courts obtained no permanent organization till the accession of the house of Hanover in 1714. Twice the province had almost become a royal one—once by act of parliament, and once by treaty. But, in England, a real regard for the sacrifices and the virtues of William Penn gained him friends among English statesmen; and the malice of pestilent English officials, of Quarry and others employed in enforcing the revenue laws, valuing a colony only by the harvest it offered of emoluments, and ever ready to appeal selfishly to the crown, the church, or English trade, was never able to overthrow his influence. His poverty, consequent on his disinterested labors, created a willingness to surrender his province to the crown; but he insisted on preserving the colonial liberties, and the crown hardly cared to buy a democracy.

The conflicts of the assembly with its proprietary did but invigorate the spirit of diligence. In a country where all legislation originated exclusively from the people; where there was perfect freedom of opinion; no established church; no difference of rank; and a refuge opened for men of every clime, language, and creed—in a country without army, or militia, or forts, or an armed police, and with no sheriffs but those elected "by the rabble," the spectacle was given of the most orderly and most prospered land. Never had a country increased so rapidly in wealth and numbers as Pennsylvania.

In New Jersey, had the proprietary power been vested in the people or reserved to one man, it might have survived, but it was divided among speculators in land, who, as a body, had gain, and not the public welfare, for their end. In April,

1688, "the proprietors of East New Jersey had surrendered their pretended right of government," and the surrender had been accepted. In October of the same year, the council of the proprietaries of West New Jersey voted to the secretary-general for the dominion of New England the custody of "all records relating to government." Thus the whole province fell, with New York and New England, under the government of Andros. At the revolution, therefore, the sovereignty over New Jersey had reverted to the crown; and the legal maxim, soon promulgated by the board of trade, that the domains of the proprietaries might be bought and sold, but not their executive power, weakened their attempts at the recovery of authority, and consigned the colony to a temporary anarchy.

A community of husbandmen may be safe for a short season with little government. For twelve years, the province was not in a settled condition. From June, 1689, to August, 1692, East New Jersey had apparently no superintending administration, being, in time of war, destitute of military officers as well as of magistrates with royal or proprietary commissions. They were protected by their neighbors from external attacks; and there is no reason to infer that the several towns failed to exercise regulating powers within their respective limits. Afterward commissions were issued by two sets of proprietors, of which each had its adherents; while a third party, swayed by disgust at the confusion and by disputes about land titles, rejected the proprietaries altogether. Over the western moiety, Daniel Coxe, as largest owner of the domain, in 1689, claimed exclusive proprietary powers; but the people disallowed his claim, rejecting his deputy under the bad name of a Jacobite. In 1691, Coxe conveyed such authority as he had to the West Jersey Society; and in 1692, Andrew Hamilton was accepted as governor under their commission. This rule, with a short interruption in 1698, continued through the reign of William. But the law officers of the crown, in 1694, questioned it even as a temporary settlement; the lords of trade claimed all New Jersey as a royal province, and in 1699, proposed a decision of the question by "a trial in Westminster Hall on a feigned issue." The proprietaries, threatened with the ultimate interference of parliament in provinces "where," it was said, "no

regular government had ever been established," resolved to resign their pretensions. In their negotiations with the crown, they wished to insist that there should be a triennial assembly; but King William, though he had against his inclination approved triennial parliaments for England, would never consent to them in the plantations.

In 1702, the first year of Queen Anne, the surrender took place before the privy council. The domain, ceasing to be connected with proprietary powers, was, under the rules of private right, confirmed to its possessors, and the decision has never been disturbed.

The surrender of "the pretended" rights to government being completed, the two Jerseys were united in one province; and the government was conferred on Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, who, like Queen Anne, was the grandchild of Clarendon. Retaining its separate legislature, the province had for the next thirty-six years the same governors as New York. It never again obtained a charter: the royal commission of April 1702, and the royal instructions to Lord Cornbury, constituted the form of its administration. To the governor appointed by the crown belonged the power of legislation, with consent of the royal council and the representatives of the people. A freehold, or property qualification, limited the elective franchise. The governor could convene, prorogue, or dissolve the assembly at his will, and the period of its duration depended on his pleasure. The laws were subject to his immediate veto and a veto from the crown, which might be exercised at any time. With the consent of his council he instituted courts of law, and appointed their officers. The people took no part in constituting the judiciary. Liberty of conscience was granted to all but papists, but favor was invoked for the church of England, of which, at the same time, the prosperity was made impossible by investing the governor with the right of presentation to benefices.

In suits at law, the governor and council formed a court of appeal; if the value in dispute exceeded two hundred pounds, the English privy council possessed ultimate jurisdiction. "Great inconvenience," said Queen Anne, "may arise by the liberty of printing in our province" of New Jersey; and there-

fore no printing-press might be kept, "no book, pamphlet, or other matters whatsoever, might be printed without a license." In subservience to English policy, especial countenance of the traffic "in merchantable negroes" was earnestly enjoined. The courts, the press, the executive, became dependent on the crown; the interests of free labor were sacrificed to the cupidity of the Royal African company.

One method of influence remained to the people of New Jersey. The assembly must fix the amount of its grants to the governor. The queen did not venture to prescribe, or to invite parliament to prescribe, a salary; still less, herself to concede it from colonial resources. Urgent that all appropriations should be made directly for the use of the crown, to be audited by her officers, she wished a fixed revenue to be settled; but the colonial deliberations were respected, and the assembly, in its votes of supplies often insisting on an auditor of its own, never established a permanent revenue.

The freemen of the colony were soon conscious of the diminution of their liberties. For absolute religious freedom, they obtained only toleration; for courts resting on enactments of their own representatives, they had courts instituted by royal ordinances. Moved by their love of freedom and the sense of having suffered a wrong, by degrees they claimed to hold their former privileges as an indefeasible possession assured to them by an inviolable compact. The surrender of the charter could terminate the authority of the proprietaries, but not impair the political rights of which the people were in possession by their irrevocable grant. Inured to self-reliance, the Quakers of West New Jersey and the Puritans of East New Jersey cordially joined in resisting encroachments on their rights.

In New York, Leisler, who had assumed power at the outbreak in 1689, rested for support upon the less educated classes of the Dutch. English dissenters were not heartily his friends. The large Dutch landholders, many of the English merchants, the friends to the Anglican church, the cabal that had grown up round the royal governors, were his wary and unrelenting opponents. But his greatest weakness was in himself. He was too restless to obey and too passionate to command.

The Protestant insurgents had, immediately after the up-

rising in New England, taken possession of the fort in New York. A few companies of militia sided with Leisler openly, and nearly five hundred men joined him in arms. Their public declaration of the third of June set forth their purpose: "As soon as the bearer of orders from the prince of Orange shall have let us see his power, then, without delay, we do intend to obey, not the orders only, but also the bearer thereof."

A committee of safety of ten assumed the task of reorganizing the government, and Jacob Leisler received their commission to command the fort of New York. Of this he gained possession without a struggle. An address to King William was forwarded, and a letter from Leisler was received by that prince without rebuke. In July, Nicholson, the deputy governor, was heard to say, what was afterward often repeated, that the people of New York were a conquered people, without claim to the rights of Englishmen; that the prince might lawfully govern them by his own will, and appoint what laws he pleased. The dread of this doctrine sunk deeply into the public mind, and afterward attracted the notice of the assemblies of New York. In August, during the period of disorder, the committee of safety reassembled, and, by no authority but their own, constituted Leisler the temporary governor of the province. The appointment was hateful to those who had been "the principal men" of New York. They looked upon Leisler as "an insolent alien," and his supporters as men "who formerly were thought unfit to be in the meanest offices."

Courtland, the mayor of the city, Bayard, and others of the council, after fruitless opposition, retired to Albany, where the magistrates in convention proclaimed their allegiance to William and Mary, and their resolution to disregard the authority of Leisler. When Milborne, the son-in-law of Leisler, first came to demand the fort, he was successfully resisted. In December, letters were received addressed to Nicholson, or, in his absence, to "such as, for the time being, take care for preserving the peace and administering the law" in New York. A commission to Nicholson accompanied them; but, as Nicholson was absent, Leisler assumed that his own authority had received the royal sanction. In January, 1690, a war

rant was issued for the apprehension of Bayard; and Albany, in the spring, terrified by an Indian invasion, and troubled by domestic factions, yielded to Milborne. Amid distress and confusion, a house of representatives was convened, and the government constituted by the popular act. To invade and conquer Canada was the ruling passion of the northern colonies; but the summer was lost in fruitless preparations, and closed in strife.

In January of 1691, the Beaver arrived in New York harbor with Ingoldsby, who bore a commission as captain. Leisler offered him quarters in the city: "Possession of his majesty's fort is what I demand," replied Ingoldsby, and he issued a proclamation requiring submission. The aristocratic party obtained as a leader one who held a commission from the new sovereign. Leisler, conforming to the original agreement made with his fellow-insurgents, replied that Ingoldsby had produced no order from the king, or from Sloughter, who, it was known, had received a commission as governor, and, promising him aid as a military officer, refused to surrender the fort. In February, the troops, as they landed, were received with all courtesy; yet passions ran high, and a shot even was fired at them. The outrage was severely reproved by Leisler, who, amid proclamations and counter-proclamations, promised obedience to Sloughter on his arrival.

When in an evening of March the profligate, needy, and narrow-minded adventurer, who held the royal commission, arrived in New York, Leisler instantly sent messengers to receive his orders. The messengers were detained. Next morning he asked by letter, to whom he should surrender the fort. The letter was unheeded; and Sloughter, giving him no notice, commanded Ingoldsby "to arrest him and the persons called his council."

The prisoners, eight in number, were promptly arraigned before a court constituted for the purpose by an ordinance, and having inveterate royalists as judges. Six of the inferior insurgents made their defence, were convicted of high treason, and were reprieved. Leisler and Milborne denied to the governor the power to institute a tribunal for judging his predecessor, and they appealed to the king. On their refusal to

plead, they were condemned of high treason as mutes, and sentenced to death, Joseph Dudley, of New England, now chief justice of New York, giving the opinion that Leisler had had no legal authority whatever.

Meantime, the assembly, for which warrants had been issued on the day of Leisler's arrest, came together in April. In its character it was thoroughly royalist, establishing a revenue, and placing it in the hands of the receiver-general, at the mercy of the governor's warrant. It passed several resolves against Leisler, especially declaring his conduct at the fort an act of rebellion. "Certainly never greater villains lived," wrote Sloughter, on the seventh of May; but he "resolved to wait for the royal pleasure if by any other means than hanging he could keep the country quiet." Yet, on the fourteenth, he assented to the vote of the council, that Leisler and Milborne should be executed. On the fifteenth, "the house did approve of what his excellency and council had done."

The next day, amid a drenching rain, Leisler, parting from his wife Alice and his numerous family, was, with his son-in-law, Milborne, led to the gallows. Both acknowledged the errors which they had committed "through ignorance and jealous fear, through rashness and passion, through misinformation and misconstruction;" in other respects, they asserted their innocence, which their blameless private lives confirmed. "Weep not for us, who are departing to our God"—these were Leisler's words to his oppressed friends—"but weep for yourselves, that remain behind in misery and vexation;" adding, as the handkerchief was bound round his face, "I hope these eyes shall see our Lord Jesus in heaven." Milborne exclaimed: "I die for the king and queen, and the Protestant religion, in which I was born and bred. Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

The appeal to the king, which had not been permitted during their lives, was made by Leisler's son; and, though the committee of lords of trade reported that the forms of law had not been broken, the estates of "the deceased" were restored to their families. Dissatisfied with this imperfect redress, the friends of Leisler and Milborne, with the assent of the king, persevered till, in 1695, an act of parliament, strenu

ously but vainly opposed by Dudley, reversed the attainder. In New York their partisans formed a powerful, and ultimately a successful, party. The rashness and incompetency of Leisler were forgotten in sympathy for the manner of his death; and in vain did his opponents rail at equality of suffrage and demand for the man of wealth as many votes as he held estates.

There existed in the province no party which would sacrifice colonial freedom. Even the legislature of 1691, composed of the deadly enemies of Leisler, asserted the right to a representative government and to English liberties to be inherent in the people, and not a consequence of the royal favor of King William. "No tax whatever shall be levied on his majestie's subjects in the province, or on their estates, on any pretence whatsoever, but by the act and consent of the representatives of the people in general assembly convened;" "supreme legislative power belongs to the governor and council and to the people by their representatives:" such was the voice of the most loyal assembly that could ever be convened in New York. "New England," wrote the royalist councillors, "has poisoned the western parts, formerly signal for loyal attachments, with her seditious and anti-monarchical principles." The act, by which "a subordinate legislature declared its own privileges," was printed among the laws in force in New York, and remained six years in England before it received the veto of King William.

In August, 1692, began the administration of the covetous and passionate Fletcher. By his restlessness and feebleness of judgment, the people of New York, whom he described as "divided, contentious, and impoverished," were disciplined into more decided resistance. The command of the militia of New Jersey and of Connecticut was, by a royal commission, conferred on him, and he was invested with powers of government in Pennsylvania and Delaware.

An address was sent to the king, representing the great cost of defending the frontiers, and requesting that the neighboring colonies might contribute to the protection of Albany. All of them to the north of Carolina were accordingly directed to furnish quotas for the defence of New York or for attacks

on Canada; but the instructions, though urgently renewed, were never enforced.

In its relations toward Canada, New York shared the passion for annexation, which gradually extended to other colonies. In its internal affairs it is the most northern province that admitted by enactment an establishment of the Anglican church. The Presbyterians had introduced themselves under compacts with the Dutch government. The original settlers from the Netherlands were Calvinists, yet with a church organization far less popular than that of New England, and having in some degree sympathy with the ecclesiastical polity of Episcopacy. During the ascendency of the Dutch, it had often been asserted in an exclusive spirit; when the colony became English, the conquest was made by men devoted to the English throne and the English church, and the influence of churchmen became predominant in the council. It is not strange, therefore, that the efforts of Fletcher to privilege the English service were partially successful. The house framed a bill, in which they established certain churches and ministers, reserving the right of presentation to the vestrymen and church-wardens. The governor, interpreting the act, limited its meaning to the English form of worship, and framed an amendment giving the right of presentation to the representative of the crown. The assembly, asserting that right for the people, rejected the amendment. "Then I must tell you," retorted Fletcher, "this seems very unmannerly. There never was an amendment desired by the council board but what was rejected. It is a sign of a stubborn ill-temper. I have the power of collating or suspending any minister in my government by their majesties' letters-patent; and, while I stay in this government, I will take care that neither heresy, schism, nor rebellion be preached among you, nor vice and profanity encouraged. You seem to take the whole power into your hands, and set up for every thing."

The "stubborn temper" of the house was immovable; and, in April, 1695, that the act might not be construed too narrowly, it was declared that the vestrymen and church-wardens of the church established in New York might call a Protestant minister who had not received Episcopal ordina-

tion. Not a tenth part of the population of that day adhered to the Episcopal church. To the mixed races of legislators in the province, the governor, in 1697, said: "There are none of you but what are big with the privileges of Englishmen and Magna Charta."

The differences were tranquillized in the short administration of the kindlier earl of Bellomont, an Irish peer, with a sound heart and honorable sympathies for popular freedom. He arrived in New York in April, 1698, after the peace of Ryswick, with a commission, including New York, New Jersey, and all New England, except Connecticut and Rhode Island. In New York, Bellomont, who had served on the committee of parliament to inquire into the trials of Leisler and Milborne, was indifferent to the little oligarchy of the royal council, of which he reproved the vices and resisted the selfishness. The memory of Leisler was revived; and the assembly, by an appropriation of its own in favor of his family, confirmed the judgment of the English parliament.

The enforcement of the acts of trade which had been violated by the connivance of men appointed to execute them; and the suppression of piracy which, as the turbulent offspring of long wars and of the false principles of the commercial systems of that age, infested every sea from America to China, were the chief purposes of Bellomont; yet for both he accomplished little. The acts of trade, contradicting the rights of humanity, were evaded everywhere; but in New York, a city, in part, of aliens, owing allegiance to England, without the bonds of common history, kindred, and tongue, they were disregarded without scruple. No voice of conscience declared their violation a moral offence; respect for them was but a calculation of chances. In the attempt to suppress piracy, Bellomont employed William Kidd, an adventurer, who proved false to his trust, and, after conviction in England, was hanged for piracy and murder.

Neither war nor illiberal legislation could retard the growth of the city of New York in commerce, in wealth, and in numbers. The increased taxes were imposed with equity and collected with moderation. "I will pocket none of the public money myself, nor shall there be any embezzlement by others,"

was the honest promise of Bellomont; and the necessity of the promise is the strongest commentary upon the character of his predecessors. The confiding house of representatives voted a revenue for six years, and placed it, as before, at the disposition of the governor. His death interrupted the short period of harmony; and, happily for New York, Lord Cornbury, his successor, had every vice of character necessary to discipline a colony into self-reliance and resistance.

Heir to an earldom, he joined the worst form of arrogance to intellectual imbecility. Of the sagacity and firmness of the common mind he knew nothing; of political power he had no conception, except as it emanates from the will of a superior; to him popular rights existed only as a condescension. Educated at Geneva, he yet loved Episcopacy as a religion of state subordinate to executive power. And now, at about forty years of age, with self-will, the pride of rank, and avarice for his counsellors, he came among the mixed people of New Jersey and of New York as their governor.

In 1702, the colony, which was not yet provoked to defiance, elected an assembly disposed to confide in the integrity of one who had been represented as a friend to Presbyterians. The expenses of his voyage were compensated by a grant of two thousand pounds, and an annual revenue for the public service was provided for seven years. In April, 1703, a grant was made of fifteen hundred pounds to fortify the Narrows, "and for no other use whatever." But Lord Cornbury cared little for limitations by a provincial assembly. The money, by his warrant, disappeared from the treasury, while the Narrows were left defenceless; and, in June, the assembly, by addresses to the governor and the queen, solicited a treasurer of its own appointment. The governor sought to hide his own want of integrity by reporting to the lords of trade: "the colonies are possessed with an opinion that their assemblies ought to have all the privileges of a house of commons; but how dangerous this is," he adds, "I need not say." No new appropriations could be extorted; and, heedless of menaces or solicitations, the representatives of the people, in 1704, asserted "the rights of the house." Lord Cornbury answered: "I know of no right that you have as an assembly but such as

the queen is pleased to allow you." Broughton, the attorney-general in New York, reported in the same year that "republican spirits" were to be found there. The firmness of the assembly won its first victory; for the queen permitted specific appropriations of incidental grants of money, and the appointment by the general assembly of its own treasurer to take charge of extraordinary supplies.

In affairs relating to religion, Lord Cornbury was equally imperious, disputing the right of ministers or schoolmasters to exercise their vocation without his license. His long undetected forgery of a standing instruction in favor of the English church led only to acts of petty tyranny, useless to English interests, degrading the royal prerogative, but benefiting the people by compelling their active vigilance. Their power redressed their griefs. When Francis Makemie, a Presbyterian, was indicted for preaching without a license from the governor, and the chief justice advised a special verdict, the jury —Episcopalians—constituted themselves the judges of the law, and readily agreed on an acquittal. In like manner, at Jamaica, the church which the whole town had erected was, by the connivance of Cornbury, reserved exclusively for the Episcopalians, an injustice which was reversed in the colonial courts.

Twice had Cornbury dissolved the assembly. The third, which he convened in August, 1708, proved how rapidly the political education of the people had advanced. Dutch, English, and New England men were all of one spirit. The rights of the people with regard to taxation, to courts of law, to officers of the crown, were asserted with an energy to which the governor could offer no resistance. Without presence of mind, subdued by the colonial legislature, and as dispirited as he was indigent, he submitted to the ignominy of reproof, and thanked the assembly for the simplest act of justice.

In New Jersey there were the same demands for money, and a still more wary refusal; representatives, elected in 1704 by a majority of votes, were excluded by the governor; one assembly after another was angrily dissolved. At last necessity compelled a third assembly, and among its members were Samuel Jennings and Lewis Morris. The latter was of a liberal mind and intrepid, yet having no fixed system; the former,

elected speaker of the assembly, was a true Quaker, of a hasty yet benevolent temper, faithful in his affections, "stiff and impracticable in politics." These are they whom Lord Cornbury describes "as capable of anything but good;" whom Quarry and other subservient counsellors accuse as "turbulent and disloyal," "encouraging the governments in America to throw off the royal prerogative, declaring openly that the royal instructions bind no further than they are warranted by law." The assembly, according to the usage of that day, in April, 1707, wait on the governor with their remonstrance. The Quaker speaker reads it for them most audibly. It accuses Cornbury of accepting bribes; it deals sharply with "his new methods of government," his "encroachment" on the popular liberties by "assuming a negative voice to the freeholders' election of their representatives;" "they have neither heads, hearts, nor souls, that are not forward with their utmost power lawfully to redress the miseries of their country." "Stop!" exclaimed Cornbury, as the undaunted Quaker delivered the remonstrance; and Jennings meekly and distinctly repeated it, with greater emphasis than before. Cornbury attempted to retort, charging the Quakers with disloyalty and faction; they answered, in the words of Nehemiah to Sanballat: "There is no such thing done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart." And they left, for the instruction of future governors, this weighty truth: "To engage the affections of the people, no artifice is needful but to let them be unmolested in the enjoyment of what belongs to them of right."

Lord Cornbury, more successful than any patriot, had taught New York the necessity and the methods of incipient resistance. The assembly, which, in April, 1709, met Lord Lovelace, his short-lived successor, began the contest that was never to cease but with independence. The crown demanded a permanent revenue, without appropriation; New York henceforward would raise only an annual revenue, and appropriate it specifically. That province was struggling to make the increase of the power of the assembly an open or tacit condition of every grant. The provincial revenue, as established by law, would not expire till 1709; but the war demanded

extraordinary supplies; and, in 1704, the moneys voted by the assembly were to be disbursed by its own officers. The royal council, instructed from England, would have money expended only on the warrant of the governor and council; but the delegates resolved that "it is inconvenient to allow the council to amend money bills;" and council, governor, and board of trade yielded to the fixed will of the representatives of the people. In 1705, the assembly was allowed by the queen "to name their own treasurer, when they raised extraordinary supplies;" by degrees all legislative grants came to be regarded as such, and to be placed in the keeping of the treasurer of the assembly, beyond the control of the governor. In 1708, the delegates, after claiming for the people the choice of coroners, made a solemn declaration that "the levying of money upon her majesty's subjects in this colony, under any pretence whatsoever, without consent in general assembly, is a grievance;" and, in 1709, as the condition of joining in an effort against Canada, the legislature assumed executive functions. In the same year, by withholding grants, they prepared to compel their future governors to an annual capitulation.

In 1710, Lovelace's successor, Robert Hunter, the friend of Swift, the ablest in the series of the royal governors of New York, a man of good temper and discernment, whom the ministry enjoined to suppress the "illegal trade still carried on with the Dutch islands" and with the enemy under "flags of truce," found himself in his province powerless and without a salary. To a friend he writes: "Here is the finest air to live upon in the universe; the soil bears all things, but not for me; for, according to the custom of the country, the sachems are the poorest of the people." "Sancho Panza was indeed but a type of me." In less than five months after his arrival he was disputing with an assembly. As they would neither grant appropriations for more than a year, nor give up the supervision of their own treasurer over payments from the public revenue, they were prorogued and dissolved.

Perceiving that their conduct was grounded on permanent motives, he made his report accordingly; and his letters reached England when Saint-John, a young man of thirty,

better known as Lord Bolingbroke, had become secretary of state. In March, 1711, a bill was drawn under the superintendence of the board of trade, reciting the neglect of the general assembly of New York to continue the taxes which had been granted in all the previous sixteen years, and imposing them by act of parliament. Sir Edward Northey, the attorney-general, and Sir Robert Raymond, the solicitor, both approved the bill; but it was intended as a measure of intimidation, and not to be passed. Meantime, Hunter wrote to Saint-John: "The colonies are infants at their mother's breasts, but will wean themselves when they come of age."

The desire to conquer Canada prevailed, in the summer of 1711, to obtain for that purpose a specific grant of bills of credit for ten thousand pounds. But when fresh instructions, with a copy of the bill for taxing New York by parliament, were laid before the assembly, no concession was made. The council, claiming the right to amend money bills, asserted that the house, like itself, existed only "by the mere grace of the crown;" but the assembly defied the opinion of the lords of trade as concluding nothing. The share of the council in making laws, they agreed, comes "from the mere pleasure of the prince;" but for their own house they claimed an "inherent right" to legislation, springing "not from any commission or grant from the crown, but from the free choice and election of the people, who ought not, nor justly can, be divested of their property without their consent."

Making to Saint-John a report of these proceedings, Hunter wrote: "The mask is thrown off. The delegates have called in question the council's share in the legislature, trumped up an inherent right, declared the powers granted by her majesty's letters-patent to be against law, and have but one short step to make toward what I am unwilling to name. The assemblies, claiming all the privileges of a house of commons and stretching them even beyond what they were ever imagined to be there, should the councillors by the same rule lay claim to the rights of a house of peers, here is a body co-ordinate with, and consequently independent of, the great council of the realm; yet this is the plan of government they all aim at, and make no scruple to own." "Unless some speedy and

effectual remedy be applied, the disease will become desperate." "If the assembly of New York," reported the lords of trade, in 1712, "is suffered to proceed after this manner, it may prove of very dangerous consequence to that province, and of very ill example to the other governments in America, who are already but too much inclined to assume pretended rights, tending to independency on the crown." And Hunter, as he saw the province add to its population at least one third in the reign of Anne, mused within himself on "what the consequences were likely to be, when, upon such an increase, not only the support of" the royal "government, but the inclination of the people to support it at all, decreases." Again the board of trade instructed him on the duty of the legislature, and again the legislature remained inflexible. The menacing mandates of the reign of Queen Anne did but increase the ill humor of New York.

CHAPTER III.

NEW ENGLAND AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

New York would willingly have extended her boundary over a part of Connecticut; but Treat, its governor, having, in May, 1689, resumed his office, the assembly, which soon convened, obeying the declared opinion of the freemen, reorganized the government according to their charter. Before the end of the month the news of the accession of William and Mary reached them. "Great was that day," said their loyal address to the king, "when the Lord did begin to magnify you like Joshua, by the deliverance of the English dominions from popery and slavery. Because the Lord loved Israel forever, therefore hath he made you king, to do justice and judgment." And, describing their acquiescence in the rule of Andros as "an involuntary submission to an arbitrary power," they announced what they had done.

In obtaining the approval of the king in 1690, Whiting, the agent of Connecticut, was aided by all the influence which the Presbyterians could enlist for New England. Edward Ward gave his opinion that a surrender, of which no legal record existed, did not invalidate a patent. Somers assented. "There is no ground of doubt," said Sir George Treby. Once more the people of Connecticut elected their own governor, council, assembly men, and their magistrates, and all annually.

The English crown would have taken to itself the command of their militia, which, after having first been assigned to the governor of Massachusetts, was, in 1692, conferred on the governor of New York. The legislature resisted, and referred the question to its constituents. In September 1693 their opinion favored a petition to the king, by the hands of

Fitz-John Winthrop. To give the command of the militia, it was said, to the governor of another colony, is, in effect, to put our persons, interests, and liberties entirely into his power; by our charter, the governor and company themselves have a commission of command.

In October of that year, Fletcher, refusing to await an answer from England, repaired to Hartford with a small retinue, to assume the authority over the militia, conferred on him by his instructions. He caused his commission to be read to the general court which was then in session, and he presented to the governor a memorial requiring obedience to the king's command. At the end of two days they sent him a paper, insisting on their charter, and refusing compliance. To the British secretary of state he reported that he had gone as far as he could without resorting to force, saying, further: "I never saw magistracy so prostituted as here; the laws of England have no force in this colony; they set up for a free state." In April 1694, the king in council decided, on the advice of Ward and Treves, that the ordinary power of the militia in Connecticut and in Rhode Island belonged to their respective governments; and Winthrop, returning from his agency to a joyful welcome, was soon elected governor of the colony.

The decisions which established the rights of Connecticut included RHODE ISLAND. These two commonwealths were the portion of the British empire distinguished above all others by the largest liberty. Each was a nearly perfect democracy under the shelter of a monarchy. But the results in the two were not strictly parallel. In Rhode Island, as all freemen had a joint interest in the large commons of land in the several townships, the right of admitting freemen was parcelled out among the towns to the injury of the central power. Moreover, as Rhode Island rested on the principle of freedom of conscience and mind, there was no established church, nor public worship prescribed by law, nor limit on the right of individuals to unite for offices of religion. In Connecticut each one of its thirty towns had its church and its educated minister. These churches were consociated by an act of legislation, and no new one could be formed without the consent of the general court. Every man was obliged by law to con-

tribute according to his substance to the support of the minister within whose precinct he resided. Free schools trained up every child in this Christian commonwealth. It was first the custom, and, in 1708, it became the order, that "the ministers of the gospel should preach a sermon on the day appointed by law for the choice of civil rulers, proper for the direction of the towns in the work before them."

The crown, by reserving to itself the right of appeal, had still a method of interfering in the internal concerns of the two republics. Both of them were included among the colonies in which the lords of trade advised a complete restoration of the prerogatives of the crown. Both were named in the bill which, in April, 1701, was introduced into parliament for the abrogation of all American charters. The journals of the house of lords relate that Connecticut was publicly heard against the measure, and contended that its liberties were held by contract in return for services that had been performed; that the taking away of so many charters would destroy all confidence in royal promises, and would afford a precedent dangerous to all the chartered corporations of England. Yet the bill was read a second time, and its principle, as applied to colonies, was advocated by the mercantile interest and by "great men" in England. The impending war with the French postponed the purpose till the accession of the house of Hanover.

But the object was not left out of mind. Lord Cornbury, who had in vain solicited money of Connecticut, in June, 1703, wrote home that "this vast continent would never be useful to England till all the proprietary and charter governments were brought under the crown." An officer of the English government sought to rouse mercantile avarice against the people of Connecticut by reporting that, "if the government be continued longer in these men's hands, the honest trade of these parts will be ruined." And Dudley, a native New England man, after he became governor of Massachusetts, took the lead in the conspiracy against the liberties of New England, preparing a volume of complaints, and in 1705 urging the appointment of a governor over Connecticut by the royal prerogative. The lords of trade were too just to con-

demn the colony unheard, and it succeeded in its vindication; but an obsolete law against Quakers, which had never been enforced, after furnishing an excuse for outcries against Puritan intolerance, was declared null and void by the queen in council.

The insurrection in MASSACHUSETTS, which had overthrown the dominion of Andros, had sprung spontaneously from the people, and it insisted on the resumption of the charter. But among the magistrates, and especially among the ministers, some distrusted every popular movement, and sought to control a revolution of which they feared the tendency. Especially Cotton Mather, claiming only English liberties, and not charter liberties, and selfishly jealous of popular power, was eager to thwart the design; and, against the opinion of the venerable Bradstreet, the charter magistrates, in April, 1689, joining to themselves "the principal inhabitants" of Boston, constituted themselves a "council for the safety of the people," and "humbly" waited "for direction of the crown of England." "Had they, at that time"—it is the statement of Increase Mather—"entered upon the full exercise of their charter government as their undoubted right, wise men in England were of opinion they might have gone on without disturbance."

When, in May, the convention of the people assembled, they were jealous of their ancient privileges. Instead of recognising the self-constituted council, they declared the governor, deputy governor, and assistants, chosen and sworn in 1686 according to charter rights, and the deputies sent by the freemen of the towns, to be the government now settled in the colony. The self-constituted council resisted; and the question was referred to the people. Nearly four fifths of the towns, in their annual May meeting, instructed their representatives to reassume their charter; but the pertinacity of a majority of the council permitted only a compromise. In June, the representatives, upon a new choice, assembled in Boston, and they, too, refused to act till the old charter officers should take up their power as of right. The council accepted the condition, but only as a temporary measure, subject to directions from England. Indeed, the time had gone by to do otherwise. Al-

ready an address to King William, from "principal inhabitants" who called themselves "a council," had contained the assurance that "they had not entered upon the full exercise of the charter government," and was soon answered by the royal assent to the temporary organization which the council had adopted. But the popular party, jealous of the dispositions of Increase Mather, joined with him in the agency for the colony, Sir Henry Ashurst and two of their own number, the patriot Elisha Cooke, and the equally trustworthy but less able Thomas Oakes.

A revolution in opinion was impending. The reformation, to overthrow accumulated superstitions, went back of them all and sought the criterion of truth alone in the open Bible; and a slavish interpretation of the Bible had led to a blind idolatry of its letter. But true religion has no alliance with bondage, and, as its spirit increased in energy, reason was summoned to interpret the records of the past and separate time-hallowed errors from immortal truths. In England, at the solicitation of James I., who had explained in a treatise "why the devil doth work more with auncient women than with others," and, in the opinion of Bacon, had "observed excellently well the nature of witchcraft," a parliament of which Bacon and Coke were members made it a capital offence; and hardly a year of his reign went by, but under the law some helpless crone perished on the gallows. The statute-book of Massachusetts established death as its penalty, sustaining both the superstition and its punishment by reference to a Jewish law, of which the meaning and the intent were misunderstood.

New England, like Canaan, had been settled by fugitives. Like the Jews, they had fled to a wilderness; like the Jews, they looked to heaven for a light to lead them on; like the Jews, they had no supreme ruler but God; like the Jews, they had heathen for their foes; and they derived much of their legislation from the Jewish code. In this way the belief in witchcraft had fastened itself on the common mind. The people accepted the superstition, but only because it had not yet been disengaged from religion.

A cautious doubt prepared to remove error from the faith which had created New England. The time had gone by for

the members of the church to control the elective franchise, or the ministers to remain the advisers of the state. But Cotton Mather, one of the ministers of the North Church in Boston, blindly and passionately resisted the inevitable change, and for a moment divided the community into a party which clung to all that had been received, and a party that welcomed the calm but irresistible advances of intelligence. "New England," he cried, "being a country whose interests are remarkably inwrapped in ecclesiastical circumstances, ministers ought to concern themselves in politics."

In 1688, the last year of the administration of Andros, who, as the servant of arbitrary power, had no motive to war against the dominion of superstition over mind, the daughter of John Goodwin, a child of thirteen years, charged a laundress with having stolen linen from the family; Glover, the mother of the laundress, a friendless emigrant, rebuked the child for her false accusation. Immediately the girl became bewitched. Three others of the family would affect to be deaf, then dumb, then blind, or all at once; they would bark like dogs, or purr like cats; but they ate well and slept well. Cotton Mather went to prayer by the side of one of them, and, lo! the child lost her hearing till prayer was over. The four ministers of Boston, and the one of Charlestown, assembled in Goodwin's house, and spent a day in fasting and prayer. In consequence, a child of four years old was "delivered." But, if the ministers could by prayer deliver a possessed child, there must have been a witch; and the magistrates, William Stoughton being one of the judges, all holding commissions exclusively from the English king, and all irresponsible to the people of Massachusetts, with a "vigor" which the united ministers commended as "just," made "a discovery of the wicked instrument of the devil." The culprit was a wild Irish woman, of a strange tongue, and, as some thought, "crazed in her intellectuals." She could repeat the Lord's prayer in Latin, but not in English. Convicted as a witch, she was executed. "Here," it was proclaimed, "was food for faith."

As the possessed damsel obtained no relief, Cotton Mather, eager to learn the marvels of the world of spirits, and "wish-

ing to confute the Sadducism" of his times, invited her to his house; and the artful girl played upon his credulity. The devil would permit her to read in Quaker books, or the Common Prayer, or popish books; but a prayer from Cotton Mather, or a chapter from the Bible, would throw her into convulsions. By a series of experiments in reading aloud passages from the Bible in various languages, the minister satisfied himself "by trials of their capacity," that devils are well skilled in languages, and know Latin and Greek, and even Hebrew; though he fell "upon one inferior Indian language which the dæmons did not seem so well to understand." Experiments were made, with unequal success, to see if they can know the thoughts of others; and the inference was that "all devils are not alike sagacious." The vanity of Cotton Mather was further gratified; for the bewitched girl would say that the evil spirits could not enter his study, and that his own person was shielded by God against their blows.

In 1689, the rapid progress of free inquiry gave alarm. "There are multitudes of Sadducees in our day," sighed Cotton Mather; "a devil, in the apprehension of these mighty acute philosophers, is no more than a quality or a distemper." "We shall come to have no Christ but a light within, and no heaven but a frame of mind." "Men counted it wisdom to credit nothing but what they see and feel. They never saw any witches; therefore, there are none." "How much," add the ministers of Boston and Charlestown, "this fond opinion has gotten ground is awfully observable." "Witchcraft," shouted Cotton Mather from the pulpit, "is the most nefandous high treason against the Majesty on high;" "a capital crime." "A witch is not to be endured in heaven or on earth." And, because men were skeptical on the subject, "God is pleased," said the ministers, "to suffer devils to do such things in the world as shall stop the mouths of gainsayers, and extort a confession." The Discourse of Cotton Mather was therefore printed in 1689, with a copious narrative of the recent case of witchcraft. The story was recommended by all the ministers of Boston and Charlestown as an answer to atheism, proving clearly that "there is both a God and a devil, and witchcraft;" and Cotton Mather, announcing

himself as an eye-witness, resolved henceforward to regard "the denial of devils, or of witches," as a personal affront, the evidence "of ignorance, incivility, and dishonest impudence."

The book was widely distributed. It gained fresh power from England, where it was "published by Richard Baxter," who declared the evidence strong enough to convince all but "a very obdurate Sadducee."

This tale went abroad at a moment when the accession of King William inspired hopes of the conquest of New France. The agents of Massachusetts, appealing to the common enmity toward France, solicited a restoration of its charter. King William was a friend to Calvinists, and, in March 1689, at his first interview with Increase Mather, conceded the recall of Sir Edmund Andros. The convention parliament voted that the taking away of the New England charters was a grievance; and the English Presbyterians, with singular affection, declared that "the king could not possibly do anything more grateful to his dissenting subjects in England than by restoring to New England its former privileges." The dissolution of the convention parliament, followed by one in which an influence friendly to the tories was perceptible, destroyed every prospect of relief from the English legislature; to attempt a reversal of the judgment by a writ of error was useless. There was no avenue to success but through the favor of a monarch who loved authority. The people of New England "are like the Jews under Cyrus," said Wiswall, the agent for Plymouth colony: with a new monarch "on the throne of their oppressors, they hope in vain to rebuild their city and their sanctuary."

In July, William III. professed friendship for Massachusetts. His subjects in New England, said Increase Mather, if they could but enjoy "their ancient rights and privileges," would make him "the emperor of America." In the family of Hampden, Massachusetts inherited a powerful intercessor. The countess of Sunderland is remembered in America as a benefactress. The aged Lord Wharton, last survivor of the Westminster assembly, "a constant and cordial lover of all good men," never grew weary in his zeal. Tillotson, the tol

erant archbishop of Canterbury, charged the king "not to take away from the people of New England any of the privileges which Charles I. had granted them." "The charter," said Burnet, "was not an act of grace, but a contract between the king and the first patentees, who promised to enlarge the king's dominion at their own charges, provided they and their posterity might enjoy certain privileges." Yet Somers resisted its restoration, pleading its imperfections. The charter sketched by Sir George Treby was rejected by the privy council for its liberality; and that which was finally conceded reserved such powers to the crown that Elisha Cooke, the popular envoy, declined to accept it. But Increase Mather, an earlier agent for the colony, announced it as conferring on the general court, "with the king's approbation, as much power in New England as the king and parliament have in England. The people have all English liberties, can be touched by no law but of their own making, nor can be taxed by any authority but themselves."

The freemen of Massachusetts, under the old charter, had elected their governor annually; that officer, the lieutenant-governor, and the secretary were henceforward appointed by the king during the royal pleasure. The governor had been but first among the magistrates; he was now the representative of English royalty, and could convene, adjourn, or dissolve the general court. The freemen had, by popular vote, annually elected their magistrates or judicial officers; the judges were now appointed, with consent of council, by the royal governor. The decisions in the courts of New England had been final; appeals to the privy council were now admitted. The freemen had exercised the full power of legislation within themselves by their deputies; the warrior king reserved a double veto—an immediate negative by the governor of the colony, while, at any time within three years, the king might cancel any act of colonial legislation. In one respect, the new charter was an advancement. Every form of Christianity, except the Roman Catholic, was enfranchised; and, in civil affairs, the freedom of the colony, no longer restricted to the members of the church, was extended so widely as to be, in a practical sense, nearly universal. The legislature contin-

ued to encourage by law the religion professed by the majority of the inhabitants, but it no longer decided controversies on opinions; and no synod was ever again convened. The new charter government of Massachusetts differed from that of the royal provinces in nothing but the council. In the royal colonies, that body was appointed by the king; in Massachusetts, it was, in the first instance, appointed by the king, and was ever after elected, in joint ballot, by the members of the council and the representatives of the people, subject to a negative from the governor. As the councillors, like the senators of Lycurgus, were twenty-eight in number, they generally, by their own vote, succeeded in effecting their own re-election; and, instead of being, as elsewhere, a greedy oligarchy, were famed for their unoffending respectability.

The territory of Massachusetts was by the charter vastly enlarged. On the south, it embraced Plymouth colony and the Elizabeth islands; on the east, Maine, Nova Scotia, and all the lands between them; on the north, it extended to the St. Lawrence—the fatal gift of a wilderness, for whose conquest and defence Massachusetts expended more treasure and lost more of her sons, than all the English continental colonies beside.

NEW HAMPSHIRE became henceforward a royal province. Its inhabitants had, in 1689, assembled in convention to institute government for themselves; in 1690, at their second session, they resolved to unite, and did actually unite, with Massachusetts; and both colonies desired that the union might be permanent. But England held itself bound by no previous compact to concede to New Hampshire any charter whatever. The right to the soil, which Samuel Allen, of London, had purchased of Mason, was recognised as valid; and Allen himself received the royal commission to govern a people whose territory, including the farms they had redeemed from the wilderness, he claimed as his own. His son-in-law, Usher, of Boston, formerly an adherent of Andros and a great speculator in lands, was appointed lieutenant-governor. The English revolution of 1688 valued the uncertain claims of an English merchant more than the liberties of a province. Indeed, that revolution loved not liberty, but privilege, and respected popular liberty only where it had the sanction of a vested right.

In August, 1692, the new government for New Hampshire was organized by Usher. The civil history of that colony, for a quarter of a century, is a series of lawsuits about land. Complaints against Usher were met by counter complaints, till, in 1699, New Hampshire was placed, with Massachusetts, under the government of Bellomont; and a judiciary, composed of men attached to the colony, was instituted. Then, and for years afterward, followed scenes of confusion: trials in the colonial courts, resulting always in verdicts against the pretended proprietary; appeals to the English monarch in council; papers withheld; records of the court under Cranfield destroyed; orders from the lords of trade and the crown disregarded by a succession of inflexible juries; a compromise proposed, and rendered of no avail by the death of one of the parties; an Indian deed manufactured to protect the cultivators of the soil; till, in 1715, the heirs of the proprietary abandoned their claim in despair. The yeomanry of New Hampshire gained quiet possession of the land which their labor had rendered valuable. The waste domain reverted to the crown. A proprietary, sustained by the crown, claimed the people of New Hampshire as his tenants; and they made themselves freeholders. In 1715, New Hampshire had nine thousand five hundred white inhabitants and one hundred and fifty slaves. Its trade in lumber and fish was of the annual value of thirty thousand pounds.

The nomination of the first officers for Massachusetts under the charter, in 1691, was committed to Increase Mather. As governor he proposed Sir William Phips, a native of New England, a well-meaning lover of his country, of a dull intellect, headstrong, and with a reason so feeble that in politics he knew nothing of general principles, in religion was given to superstition. Accustomed from boyhood to the axe and the oar, he was distinguished only for his wealth, acquired by raising treasures from a Spanish wreck with the diving-bell. His partners in the enterprise gained him the honor of knighthood; his present favor was due to the ignorance which left him open to the influence of the ministers. Intercession had been made by Cotton Mather for the advancement of William Stoughton, a man of cold affections, proud, self-willed, and

covetous of distinction. He had acted under James II. as deputy president; a fit tool for such a king, joining in all "the miscarriages of the late government." The people had rejected him in their election of judges, giving him not a vote. Yielding to the request of his son, Increase Mather assigned to Stoughton the office of deputy governor. "The twenty-eight assistants, who are the governor's council, every man of them," wrote the agent, "is a friend to the interests of the churches." "The time for favor is come," exulted Cotton Mather; "yea, the set time is come. Instead of my being made a sacrifice to wicked rulers, my father-in-law, with several related to me, and several brethren of my own church, are among the council. The governor of the province is not my enemy, but one whom I baptized, and one of my own flock, and one of my dearest friends." And, uttering a midnight cry, he wrestled with God to awaken the churches to some remarkable thing. "I obtained of the Lord that he would use me," says the infatuated man, "to be a herald of his kingdom now approaching;" and, in the gloom of the winter of 1692, among a people desponding at the loss of their old liberties, their ill success against Quebec, the ravages of their north-eastern border by a cruel and well-directed enemy, the ruin of their commerce by French cruisers, the loss of credit by the debts with which the fruitless and costly war overwhelmed them, the wildest imaginations prevailed.

The cry of witchcraft has been raised by the priesthood rarely, or never, except when free thought was advancing. The bold inquirer was sometimes burnt as a wizard, and sometimes as an insurgent against the established faith. In France, where there were most heretics, there were most condemnations for witchcraft.

In Salem village, now Danvers, there had been between Samuel Parris, the minister, and a part of his people, a strife so bitter that it had even attracted the attention of the general court. The delusion of witchcraft would give opportunities of terrible vengeance. In February, 1692, the daughter of Parris, a child of nine years, and his niece, a girl of less than twelve, began to have strange caprices. "He that will read Cotton Mather's Book of Memorable Providences may

read part of what these children suffered;" and Tituba, a half Indian, half negro female servant who had practiced some wild incantations, being betrayed by her husband, was scourged by Parris, her master, into confessing herself a witch. The ministers of the neighborhood held at the afflicted house a day of fasting and prayer; and the little children became the most conspicuous personages in Salem. The ambition of notoriety recruited the company of the possessed. There existed no motive to hang Tituba: she was saved as a living witness to the reality of witchcraft; and Sarah Good, a poor woman of a melancholic temperament, was the first person selected for accusation. Cotton Mather, who had placed witches "among the poor and vile and ragged beggars upon earth," and had staked his own reputation for veracity on the reality of witchcraft, prayed "for a good issue." As the affair proceeded, and the accounts of the witnesses appeared as if taken from his own writings, his boundless vanity gloried in "the assault of the evil angels upon the country, as a particular defiance unto himself." Yet the prosecution, but for Parris, would have languished. Of his niece he demanded the names of the devil's instruments who bewitched the band of "the afflicted," and then became at once informer and witness. In those days, there was no prosecuting officer; and Parris was at hand to question his Indian servants and others, himself prompting their answers and acting as recorder to the magistrates. The recollection of the old controversy in the parish could not be forgotten; and Parris, who, from personal malice as well as blind zeal, "stifled the accusations of some"—such is the testimony of the people of his own village—and at the same time "vigilantly promoted the accusation of others," was "the beginner and procurer of the sore afflictions to Salem village and the country." Martha Cory, who on her examination in the meeting-house before a throng, with a firm spirit, alone, against them all, denied the presence of witchcraft, was, in March, committed to prison. Rebecca Nurse, likewise, a woman of purest life, an object of the special hatred of Parris, resisted the company of accusers, and was committed. And Parris, in April, filling his prayers with the theme, made the pulpit ring with it, taking for his text: "Have not I chosen you

twelve, and one of you is a devil?" At this, Sarah Cloyce, sister to Rebecca Nurse, rose up and left the meeting-house; and she, too, was cried out upon and sent to prison.

To examine Sarah Cloyce and Elizabeth Proctor, the deputy governor and five other magistrates went promptly to Salem. It was a great day; several ministers were present. Parris officiated; and, by his own record, it is plain that he himself elicited every accusation. His first witness, John, the Indian servant, husband to Tituba, was rebuked by Sarah Cloyce, as a grievous liar. Abigail Williams, the niece to Parris, was at hand with her tales: the prisoner had been at the witches' sacrament. Struck with horror, Sarah Cloyce asked for water, and sank down "in a dying, fainting fit." "Her spirit," shouted the band of the afflicted, "is gone to prison to her sister Nurse." Against Elizabeth Proctor, the niece of Parris told stories yet more foolish than false: the prisoner had invited her to sign the devil's book. "Dear child," exclaimed the accused in her agony, "it is not so. There is another judgment, dear child;" and her accusers, turning toward her husband, declared that he, too, was a wizard. All three were committed. Examinations and commitments multiplied. Giles Cory, a stubborn old man of more than fourscore years, could not escape the malice of his minister and of neighbors with whom he had quarrelled. Edward Bishop, a farmer, cured the Indian servant of a fit by flogging him; he declared, moreover, his belief that he could, in like manner, cure the whole company of the afflicted, and, for his skepticism, found himself and his wife in prison. Mary Easty, of Topsfield, another sister of Rebecca Nurse—a woman of singular gentleness and force of character, deeply religious, yet uninfected by superstition—was torn from her children and sent to jail. Parris had a rival in George Burroughs, a graduate of Harvard college, who, having formerly preached in Salem village, had had friends there desirous of his settlement. He, too, a skeptic in witchcraft, was, in May, accused and committed. Thus far, there had been no success in obtaining confessions, though earnestly solicited. It had been hinted that confessing was the avenue to safety. At last, Deliverance Hobbs owned everything that was asked of her, and

was left unharmed. The gallows was to be set up not for professed witches, but for those who rebuked the delusion.

Simon Bradstreet, the governor of the people's choice, deemed the evidence insufficient ground of guilt. On Saturday, the fourteenth of May, the new charter and the royal governor arrived in Boston. On the next Monday, the charter was published; and the parishioner of Cotton Mather, with the royal council, was installed in office. Immediately a court of oyer and terminer was instituted by ordinance, and the positive, overbearing Stoughton appointed by the governor and council its chief judge, with Sewall and Wait Winthrop, two feebler men, as his associates: by the second of June the court was in session at Salem, making its first experiment on Bridget Bishop, a poor and friendless old woman. The fact of the witchcraft was assumed as "notorious": to fix it on the prisoner, Samuel Parris, who had examined her before her commitment, was the principal witness to her power of inflicting torture; he had seen it exercised. Deliverance Hobbs had been whipped with iron rods by her spectre; neighbors, who had quarrelled with her, were willing to lay their little ills to her charge; the poor creature had a preternatural excrescence in her flesh; "she gave a look toward the great and spacious meeting-house of Salem"—it is Cotton Mather who records this—"and immediately a dæmon, invisibly entering the house, tore down a part of it." She was a witch by the rules and precedents of Keeble and Sir Matthew Hale, of Perkins and Bernard, of Baxter and Cotton Mather; and, on the tenth of June, protesting her innocence, she was hanged. Of the magistrates at that time, not one held office by the suffrage of the people: the tribunal, essentially despotic in its origin, as in its character, had no sanction but an extraordinary and an illegal commission; and Stoughton, the chief judge, a partisan of Andros, had been rejected by the people of Massachusetts. The responsibility of the tragedy, far from attaching to the people of the colony, rests with the very few, hardly five or six, in whose hands the transition state of the government left, for a season, unlimited influence. Into the interior of the colony the delusion did not spread.

The house of representatives, which assembled in June,

1692, was busy with its griefs at the abridgment of the old colonial liberties. Increase Mather, the agent, was heard in his own defence; and at last Bond, the speaker, in the name of the house, tardily and languidly thanked him for his faithful and unwearied exertions. No recompense was voted. "I seek not yours, but you," said Increase Mather; "I am willing to wait for recompense in another world;" and the general court, after prolonging the validity of the old laws, adjourned to October.

But Phips and his council had not looked to the general court for directions; they turned to the ministers of Boston and Charlestown; and from them, by the hand of Cotton Mather, they received gratitude for their sedulous endeavors to defeat the abominable witchcrafts; prayer that the discovery might be perfected; a caution against haste and spectral evidence; a hint to affront the devil, and give him the lie, by condemning none on his testimony alone; while the direful advice was added: "We recommend the speedy and vigorous prosecution of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious." The willing court, at its next session, condemned five women, all of blameless lives, all declaring their innocence. Four were convicted easily enough; Rebecca Nurse was at first acquitted. "The honored court was pleased to object against the verdict;" and, as she had said of the confessing witnesses, "They used to come among us," meaning that they had been prisoners together, Stoughton interpreted the words as of a witch festival. The jury withdrew, and could as yet not agree; but, as the prisoner, who was hard of hearing and full of grief, made no explanation, they no longer refused to find her guilty. Hardly was the verdict rendered before the foreman made a statement of the ground of her condemnation, and she sent her declaration to the court in reply. The governor, who himself was not unmerciful, saw reason to grant a reprieve; but Parris had preached against Rebecca Nurse, and prayed against her; had induced "the afflicted" to witness against her; had caused her sisters to be imprisoned for their honorable sympathy. She must perish, or the delusion was unveiled; and the governor recalled the reprieve. On the next communion day she was taken in chains to the meeting-house,

to be formally excommunicated by Noyes, her minister; and was hanged with the rest. "You are a witch; you know you are," said Noyes to Sarah Good, urging a confession. "You are a liar," replied the poor woman; "and, if you take my life, God will give you blood to drink."

Confessions rose in importance. "Some, not afflicted before confession, were so presently after it." The jails were filled, for fresh criminations were needed to confirm the confessions. "Some, by these their accusations of others"—I quote the cautious apologist Hale—"hoped to gain time, and get favor from the rulers." "Some, under the temptation" of promises of favor beyond what the rulers themselves had given ground for, "regarded not as they should what became of others, so that they could thereby serve their own turns." If the confessions were contradictory, if witnesses uttered obvious falsehoods, "the devil," the judges would say, "takes away their memory, and imposes on their brain." And who now would dare to be skeptical? who would disbelieve confessors? Besides, there were other evidences. A callous spot was the mark of the devil: did age or amazement refuse to shed tears; had threats after a quarrel been followed by the death of cattle or other harm; did an error occur in repeating the Lord's prayer; were deeds of great physical strength performed—these all were signs of witchcraft.

On a new session, in August, six were arraigned, and all were convicted. John Willard had, as an officer, been employed to arrest the suspected witches. Perceiving the hypocrisy, he declined the service. The afflicted immediately denounced him, and he was seized, convicted, and hanged.

At the trial of George Burroughs, the bewitched persons pretended to be dumb. "Who hinders these witnesses," said Stoughton, "from giving their testimonies?" "I suppose the devil," answered Burroughs. "How comes the devil," retorted the chief judge, "so loath to have any testimony borne against you?" and the question was effective. Besides, he had given proofs of great, if not preternatural, muscular strength. Cotton Mather calls the evidence "enough:" the jury gave a verdict of guilty.

John Procter, who foresaw his doom, had sent an earnest

petition to Cotton Mather and the ministers. Among the witnesses against him were some who had made no confessions till after torture. "They have already undone us in our estates, and that will not serve their turns without our innocent blood;" and he begged for a trial in Boston, or, at least, for a change of magistrates. His entreaties were vain, as also his prayers, after condemnation, for a respite.

Among the witnesses against Martha Carrier, the mother saw her own children. Her two sons refused to perjure themselves till they had been tied neck and heels so long that the blood was ready to gush from them. The confession of her daughter, a child of seven years old, is still preserved.

The aged Jacobs was condemned, in part, by the evidence of Margaret Jacobs, his granddaughter. Terrified by a wounded conscience, she confessed the whole truth before the magistrates, who confined her for trial, and proceeded to hang her grandfather.

These five were condemned on the third, and hanged on the nineteenth of August; pregnancy reprieved Elizabeth Procter. To hang a minister as a witch was a novelty; but Burroughs denied that there was, or could be, such a thing as witchcraft, in the current sense. On the ladder, he cleared his innocence by an earnest speech, repeating the Lord's prayer composedly and exactly, and with a fervency that astonished. Cotton Mather, on horseback among the crowd, addressed the people, cavilling at the ordination of Burroughs, as though he had been no true minister, insisting on his guilt, and hinting that the devil could sometimes assume the appearance of an angel of light.

Meantime, the confessions of the witches began to be directed against the Anabaptists. Mary Osgood was dipped by the devil. The court still had work to do. On the ninth, six women were condemned; and more convictions followed. Giles Cory, an octogenarian, seeing that all who denied guilt were convicted, refused to plead, and was pressed to death.

On the twenty-second of September, eight persons were led to the gallows. Of these, Samuel Wardwell had confessed, and was safe; but, from shame and penitence, he retracted his confession and was hanged, not for witchcraft, but for denying

witchcraft. Martha Cory was, before execution, visited in prison by Parris, the two deacons, and another member of his church. The church record tells that she "imperiously" rebuked her destroyers, and "they pronounced the dreadful sentence of excommunication against her." In the calmness with which Mary Easty exposed the falsehood of those who had selected from her family so many victims, she joined the noblest fortitude and sweetness of temper, dignity, and resignation. But the chief judge was positive that all had been done rightly, and "was very impatient in hearing anything that looked another way." "There hang eight firebrands of hell," said Noyes, the minister of Salem, pointing to the bodies swinging on the gallows.

Already twenty persons had been put to death for witchcraft; fifty-five had been tortured or terrified into penitent confessions. With accusations, confessions increased; with confessions, new accusations. Even "the generation of the children of God" were in danger of "falling under that condemnation." The jails were full. One hundred and fifty prisoners awaited trial; two hundred more were accused or suspected. It was observed that no one of the condemned confessing witchcraft had been hanged. No one that confessed and retracted a confession, had escaped either hanging or imprisonment for trial. No one of the condemned who asserted innocence, even where one of the witnesses confessed perjury, or the foreman of the jury owned the error of the verdict, escaped the gallows. Favoritism was shown in listening to accusations, which were turned aside from friends or partisans. If a man began a career as a witch-hunter, and, becoming convinced of the imposture, declined the service, he was accused and hanged. Persons accused, who had escaped from the jurisdiction in Massachusetts, were not demanded. Witnesses convicted of perjury were cautioned, and permitted still to swear away the lives of others. The court adjourned to the first Tuesday in November.

On the second Wednesday in October, 1692, about a fortnight after the last hanging of eight at Salem, the representatives of the colony assembled; and the people of Andover, their minister joining with them, appeared with their remon-

strance against the doings of the witch tribunals. Of the discussions that ensued no record is preserved; we know only the issue. The general court ordered by bill a convocation of ministers, that the people might be led in the right way as to the witchcraft. They adapted to their condition the British statute on witchcraft of King James, but abrogated the special court, established a new tribunal, and delayed its opening till January of the following year. This interval gave the public mind security and freedom; and though Phips still conferred the place of chief judge on Stoughton, yet jurors acted independently. When, in January, 1693, the court met at Salem, six women of Andover, renouncing their confessions, treated the witchcraft but as something so called, the bewildered but as "seemingly afflicted." A memorial of like tenor came from the inhabitants of Andover.

Of the presentments, the grand jury dismissed more than half; and of the twenty-six against whom bills were found through the testimony on which others had been condemned, verdicts of acquittal followed. Three who, for special reasons, had been convicted, one being a wife, whose testimony had sent her husband to the gallows and whose confession was now used against herself, were reprieved, and soon set free.

The party of superstition desired one conviction. The victim selected was Sarah Daston, a woman of eighty years old, who for twenty years had had the reputation of being a witch, if ever there were a witch in the world. In February, 1693, in the presence of a throng, the trial went forward at Charlestown; but the common mind was disenthralled, and asserted itself by a verdict of acquittal.

The people of Salem village drove Parris from the place; Noyes regained favor only by a full confession and consecrating the remainder of his life to deeds of mercy. Sewall, one of the judges, by rising in his pew in the Old South meeting-house on a fast day and reading to the whole congregation a paper in which he bewailed his great offence, recovered public esteem. Stoughton never repented. The diary of Cotton Mather proves that he, who had sought the foundation of faith in tales of wonders, himself "had temptations to atheism, and to the abandonment of all religion as a mere delusion."

The mind of New England was more wise. It never wavered in its faith; but, employing a cautious spirit of search, eliminating error, rejecting superstition as tending to cowardice and submission, cherishing religion as the source of courage and of freedom, it refused to separate belief and reason. Some asserted God to be the true being, the devil to be but a nonentity, and disobedience to God to be the only possible compact with Satan; others, though clinging to the letter of the Bible, showed the insufficiency of all evidence for the conviction of a witch. Men trusted more to observation and analysis; and this philosophy was analogous to the change in their civil condition; liberty, in Massachusetts, was defended by asserting the sanctity of compact, and the inherent right of the colony to all English liberties.

On the organization of the new government, in 1692, its first body of representatives, with the consent of the council and the royal governor, enacted that "the rights and liberties of the people shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed," that "no aid, tax, tallage, assessment, custom, loan, benevolence, or imposition whatsover, shall be laid, assessed, imposed, or levied on any of their majesties' subjects, or their estates, on any color or pretence whatsoever, but by the act and consent of the governor, council, and representatives of the people assembled in general court." "All trials shall be by the verdict of twelve men, peers or equals, and of the neighborhood, and in the county or shire, where the fact shall arise."

The same legislature, in November, 1692, renewed the institution of towns, the glory and the strength of New England. The inhabited part of Massachusetts, with Maine, as a part of Massachusetts, was recognised as divided into little territories, each of which, for its internal purposes, constituted a separate integral democracy, free from supervision; having power to elect annually its own officers; to hold meetings of all freemen at its own pleasure; to discuss in those meetings any subject of public interest; to elect, and, if it pleased, to instruct its representatives; to raise, appropriate, and expend money for the support of the ministry, of schools, of the poor, and for defraying other necessary expenses within the town. Royalists afterward deplored that the law, which confirmed

these liberties, received the unconscious sanction of William III. New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island had similar regulations; so that all New England was an aggregate of municipal democracies.

The late agent, Elisha Cooke, a patriot never willing to submit to the acts of trade, never consenting to the least diminution of freedom, the frank, sincere, persistent friend of popular power, proposed, as the lawful mode of controlling the officers appointed by the king, never to establish a fixed salary for any one of them, to perpetuate no public revenue. This advice was as old as the charter. The legislature, conforming to it, refused from the beginning to vote a permanent establishment, and left the king's governor dependent on their annual grants. Phips, the first royal governor in Massachusetts, was the first to complain that "no salary was allowed or was intended," and was the first to solicit the interference of the king for relief.

His successor, the earl of Bellomont, found himself equally dependent on the benevolence of the assembly. The same policy was sure to be followed, when, on the death of Bellomont, the colony had the grief of receiving as its governor, under a commission that included New Hampshire, its own apostate son, Joseph Dudley, the great supporter of Andros, "the wolf" whom the patriots of Boston had "seized by the ears," whom the people had insisted on keeping "in the jail," and who, for twenty weeks, had been held in prison, or, as he termed it, had been "buried alive." He obtained the place by the request of Cotton Mather, who at that time continued to be mistaken in England for the interpreter of the general wish of the ministers.

The profoundly selfish Dudley possessed prudence and the inferior virtues, but he loved neither freedom nor his native land. In 1702, on meeting his first assembly, he gave "instances of his remembering the old quarrel, and the people, on their parts, resolved never to forget it." "All his ingenuity could not stem the current of their prejudice against him." A stated salary was demanded for the governor. "As to settling a salary for the governor," replied the house, "it is altogether new to us; nor can we think it agreeable to our present con-

stitution; but we shall be ready to do what may be proper for his support." "This country," wrote his son, "will never be worth living in, for lawyers and gentlemen, till the charter is taken away." Failing to win from the legislature concessions to the royal prerogative, Dudley became the active opponent of the chartered liberties of New England, endeavoring to effect their overthrow and the establishment of a general government as in the days of Andros.

"Even many of the councillors are commonwealth's men," wrote Dudley, in 1702; and in September of the following year, when the royal requisition for an established salary had once more been fruitlessly made, he urged the ministry to change the provincial charter. The choice of the people for councillors he described to the board of trade as falling on "persons of less affection to the strict dependence of these governments on the crown; till the queen," said he, "appoints the council, nothing will go well." It was not an Englishman who proprosed this abridgment of charter privileges, but a native of Massachusetts, son of one of its earliest magistrates, himself first introduced to public affairs by the favor of its people.

CHAPTER IV.

PARLIAMENT AND THE COLONIES.

During the long contests in England, popular liberty had thriven vigorously in its colonies, like the tree by the rivers of water, that grows in the night-time, while they who gave leave to plant it were sleeping. A complete system of equal representative government had been developed, and had been enjoyed with exact regularity. In the reign of each one of the Stuarts, England was left for many years without a parliament. From the time that Southampton and Sandys established assemblies in Virginia, their succession was maintained by an unbroken usage. So it was in Maryland, and so too in the Carolinas, in Pennsylvania, in Delaware, without interruption. In New England, the legislatures of all the chief colonies met twice a year until the reign of James II. The spirit of liberty had been one and the same in Englishmen at home and Englishmen in the colonies, with this momentous difference: the revolution in England had been an adjustment of the old institutions of monarchy, prelacy, and the peerage; in the colonies there was neither prelate nor peer, and the monarch was kept aloof by an ocean. The popular element which had been baffled in the older country existed in America without a master or a rival.

The outline of the still distant conflict between the two was already defined. The parliament, which had made itself supreme by electing a king and regulating the descent of the British crown for the whole extent of the British empire, and had confirmed immutably its right of meeting every year, held itself to be "absolute and unaccountable;" and from its very nature would one day attempt to extend its unlimited legisla-

tive sovereignty over every part of the British dominions. Yet it represented not so much the British people as the British aristocracy, which formed one branch of parliament, elected very many members of the second, and through that second branch controlled the monarchy.

The antagonism between an imperial parliament which held itself supreme, and colonial legislatures which claimed to be co-ordinate, was not immediately manifested. On the contrary, the action of England was the model after which the colonies shaped their own without reproach. The revolution sanctioned for England the right of resisting tyranny. In like manner, the colonies rose with one mind to assert their English liberties, the three royal governments—New York, New Hampshire, and Virginia—rivalling the chartered ones in zeal. They all encouraged each other to assert their privileges, as possessing a sanctity which tyranny only could disregard, and which could perish only by destroying allegiance itself. In England, the right to representation was never again to be separated from the power of taxation; the colonies equally sought the bulwark for their liberties and their peace in the exclusive right of taxing themselves.

The disfranchisement of dissenters in England, and the still more grievous religious intolerance of the Anglican church in Ireland, wrought for England incalculable evil, and brought the weightiest advantage to the colonies, in most of which the heartiest welcome and the brightest career awaited alike the Independents and Presbyterians.

King William, having, by his acceptance of the British crown, involved England in a desperate struggle with the king of France, had for his great aim in the administration of the colonies an organization by which their united resources could be made available in war.

James II. had brought to the throne his experience of nearly five-and-twenty years as an American proprietary, and had formed a thorough system of colonial government. Six northern colonies were consolidated under one captain-general, who was invested with legislative power, checked only by a council likewise appointed by the king. This arbitrary system, which was to have been extended to all, appeared to prom-

ise him a colonial civil list and revenue at his discretion; to make his servants directly and solely dependent on himself; and, by uniting so many colonies under one military chief, to erect a barrier against the red men, and against the French in America.

During the three years of his rule he persisted in the purpose of reducing "the independent" colonial administrations; and, with promptness, consistency, and determination, employed the prerogative for that end. The letters-patent of Massachusetts were cancelled; those of Connecticut and Rhode Island, of Maryland, of New Jersey, of Carolina, were to be annulled or surrendered. But with his flight from England the system vanished like the shadow of a cloud, having no root in the colonies, nor in the principle of the English revolution.

In February 1689, at the instance of Sir George Treby, the convention which made William III. king voted "that the plantations ought to be secured against quo warrantos and surrenders, and their ancient rights restored." But the clause in their behalf did not reappear in later proceedings; they are not named in the declaration of rights; their oppression by James was not enumerated as one of the causes of the revolution; and Somers would not include the Massachusetts charter in the bill for restoring corporations.

The first soldiers sent to America after the revolution were two companies which were ordered to New York in 1689, and seem to have arrived there in 1691. They were to be paid out of the revenue of England, till provision should be made for them by the province. One hundred pounds were sent for presents to the Indians. This arrangement was likewise to be transient; the ministry never designed to make the defence of America and the conduct of Indian relations a direct burden on the people of England.

The crown had no funds at its disposal for the public defence. The conduct of a war required union, a common treasury, military force, and a central will. In October 1692, the sovereign of England attempted this union by an act of the prerogative; sending to each colony north of Carolina a requisition for a fixed quota of money and of men for the defence of New York, "the outguard of his majesty's neighboring

plantations in America." This is memorable as the first form of British regulation of the colonies after the revolution of 1688. The requisition was neglected. Pennsylvania, swayed by the society of Friends, was steadfast in its disobedience.

Yet England insisted that the colonists should "employ their own hands and purses in defence of their own estates, lives, and families;" and, in 1694, when two more companies at New York were placed upon the English establishment, and when artillery and ammunition were furnished from "the king's magazines," a royal mandatory letter prescribed to the several colonies the exact proportion of their quotas. But the "order, by reason of the distinct and independent governments," was "very uncertainly complied with." The governor of New York had nothing "to rely on for the defence of that frontier but the four companies in his majesty's pay"; while Massachusetts urged that, as "all were equally benefited, each ought to give a reasonable aid."

The king attempted a more efficient method of administering the colonies; their affairs were taken from committees of the privy council; and, in May 1696, a board of commissioners for trade and plantations, consisting of the chancellor, the president of the privy council, the keeper of the privy seal, the two secretaries of state, and eight special commissioners, was called into being. To William Blathwayte, who had drafted the new charter of Massachusetts, John Locke, and the rest of the commission, instructions were given by the crown "to inquire into the means of making the colonies most useful and beneficial to England; into the staples and manufactures which may be encouraged there, and the means of diverting them from trades which may prove prejudicial to England; to examine into and weigh the acts of the assemblies; to set down the usefulness or mischief of them to the crown, the kingdom, or the plantations themselves; to require an account of all the moneys given for public uses by the assemblies of the plantations, and how the same are employed." The administration of the several provinces had their unity in the person of the king, whose duties with regard to them were transacted through one of the secretaries of state; but the board of trade was the organ of inquiries and the centre of

colonial information. Every law of a provincial legislature, except in some of the charter governments, if it escaped the veto of the royal governor, might be arrested by the unfavorable opinion of the law officer of the crown, or by the adverse report of the board of trade. Its rejection could come only from the king in council, whose negative, even though the act had gone into immediate effect, invalidated every transaction under it from the beginning.

The board of trade was hardly constituted before it was summoned to plan unity in the military efforts of the provinces; and Locke with his associates despaired, on beholding them "crumbled into little governments, disunited in interests, in an ill posture and much worse disposition to afford assistance to each other for the future." The board, in 1697, "after considering with their utmost care," could only recommend the appointment of "a captain-general of all the forces and all the militia of all the provinces on the continent of North America, with power to levy and command them for their defence, under such limitations and instructions as to his majesty should seem best;" "to appoint officers to train the inhabitants;" from "the Quakers, to receive in money their share of assistance;" and "to keep the Five Nations firm in friendship." "Rewards" were to be given "for all executions done by the Indians on the enemy; and the scalps they bring in to be well paid for." This plan of a military dictatorship is the second form of British regulation.

With excellent sagacity—for true humanity perfects the judgment—William Penn matured a plan of a permanent union, by a national representation of the American states. On the eighth day of February 1697, he delivered his project for an annual "congress," as he termed it, of two delegates from each province, with a special king's commissioner as the presiding officer, to establish intercolonial justice, "to prevent or cure injuries in point of commerce, to consider of ways and means to support the union and safety of these provinces against the public enemies. In this congress the quotas of men and charge will be much easier and more equally set, than it is possible for any establishment here to do; for the provinces, knowing their own condition and one another's, can

debate that matter with more freedom and satisfaction, and better adjust and balance their affairs, in all respects, for their common safety;" and he added: "The determination, in the assembly I propose, should be by plurality of voices."

The proposition was advocated before the English world in the vigorous writings of Charles Davenant. He disdained the fear of a revolt of the colonies, "while they have English blood in their veins and have" profitable "relations with England." "The stronger and greater they grow," thus he expressed his generous confidence, "the more this crown and kingdom will get by them. Nothing but such an arbitrary power as shall make them desperate can bring them to rebel. And as care should be taken to keep them obedient to the laws of England, and dependent upon their mother country, so those conditions, privileges, terms, and charters should be kept sacred and inviolate, by which they were first encouraged, at their great expense and with the hazard of their lives, to discover, cultivate, and plant remote places. Any innovations or breach of their original charters (besides that it seems a breach of the public faith) may, peradventure, not tend to the king's profit."

But the ministry adopted neither the military dictatorship of Locke and his associates, nor the peaceful congress of William Penn, nor the widely read and long-remembered advice of Davenant, but trusted the affair of quotas and salaries to royal instructions. Two causes served to protect the colonies from any despotic system. Responsible ministers were unwilling to provoke a conflict with them; and a generous love of liberty in the larger and better class of Englishmen compelled them as patriots to delight in its extension to all parts of the English dominions.

England, at "the abdication" of its throne by the Stuarts, was, as it were, still free from debt, and a direct tax on America for the benefit of the English treasury was at that moment not dreamed of. That the respective colonies should contribute to the common defence against the French and Indians was desired in America, was earnestly enjoined from England; but the demand for quotas continued to be directed by royal instructions to the colonies themselves, and was refused or

granted by the colonial assemblies, as their own policy prompted. This want of concert and the refusal of contributions suggested the interference of parliament.

While the declaratory acts, by which each one of the colonies asserted its right to the privileges of Magna Charta and freedom from taxation except with their own consent, were always disallowed by the crown, the strife on the power of parliament to tax the colonies was willingly avoided. The colonial legislatures had their own budgets, and financial questions arose: Shall the grants be generally for the use of the crown, or shall they be carefully limited to specific purposes? Shall the moneys levied be confided to an officer of royal appointment, or to a treasurer responsible to the legislature? Shall the revenue be granted permanently, or from year to year? Shall the salaries of the royal judges and the royal governor be fixed, or depend annually on the popular contentment? These were questions consistent with the relations between metropolis and colony; but the supreme power of parliament to tax at its discretion was not yet attempted in England, was always denied in America.

In this way there grew up a system of administration by the use of the prerogative. In England the power of the king to veto acts of parliament ceased to be used; in the course of a few years it came to be employed in all the colonies except Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The crown obtained everywhere the control of the judiciary; for the judges, in nearly all the colonies, received their appointments from the king and held them at his pleasure; and the right of appeal to the king in council was maintained in them all. Nor was the power given up to bring a chartered colony, by a scire facias, before English tribunals.

Where the people selected the judges, as in Connecticut and Rhode Island, they were chosen annually, and the public preference, free from fickleness, gave stability to the office; where the appointment rested with the royal governor, the popular instinct desired for the judges an independent tenure. Massachusetts, in an enactment of 1692, claimed the full benefit of the writ of habeas corpus; "the privilege has not yet been granted to the plantations," was the reply of Lord Somers; and the act was disallowed. When the privilege was affirmed

by Queen Anne, the burgesses of Virginia, in their gratitude, did but esteem it "an assertion to her subjects of their just rights and properties." England conceded the security of personal freedom as a boon; America claimed it as a birthright.

The instructions, by which every royal governor was invested with the censorship over the press, were renewed.

In like manner, the governors were commanded to "allow no one to preach without a license from a bishop;" but the instruction was, for the most part, suffered to slumber. To advance the Anglican church, the crown incorporated the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts; from dissenters in America royal charters were withheld.

The most terrible of the royal instructions was that which fostered slavery. Before the English crown became directly concerned in the slave-trade, governors were charged to keep the market open for merchantable negroes; and measures adopted by the colonial legislatures to restrain the traffic were nullified by the royal veto.

In May 1689, the lords of the committee of colonies, willing to derive power from the precedents of James II., represented to King William that "the present relation" of the charter colonies to England is a matter "worthy of the consideration of parliament, for the bringing those proprieties and dominions under a nearer dependence on the crown." But at that time nothing was designed beyond the strict enforcement of the navigation acts.

In March 1701, less than ten years after the grant of the new charter of Massachusetts, the board of trade invited "the legislative power" of England to resume all charters, and reduce the colonies to equal "dependency;" and, in April, a bill for that end was introduced into the house of lords.

As the danger of a new war with France increased, William was advised that, "besides the assistance he might be pleased to give the colonies, it was necessary that the inhabitants should on their part contribute to their mutual security;" and a new requisition for quotas was made by the warlike sovereign. For Pennsylvania the quota was three hundred and fifty pounds; William Penn himself was present to urge compliance; but war, reasoned the Quakers, is not better than peace; trade and

commerce are no less important than weapons of offence; and, professing "readiness to acquiesce with the king's commands," the assembly of Pennsylvania, like Massachusetts, made excuses for an absolute refusal. Immediately in January, 1702, the board of trade represented to their sovereign the defenceless condition of the plantations: "Since the chartered colonies refuse obedience to the late requisitions, and continue the retreat of pirates and smugglers, the national interest requires that such independent administrations should be placed by the legislative power of this kingdom in the same state of dependence as the royal governments." This was the deliberate and abiding opinion of the board, transmitted across half a century to the earl of Halifax and Charles Townshend. But the charters had nothing to fear from William of Orange; for him the sands of life were fast ebbing, and in March he was no more.

The white inhabitants of British America, who, at the accession of William III., were about one hundred and eighty thousand, were, at the accession of Anne, in 1702, at least two hundred and seventy thousand. Their governors were instructed to proclaim war against France; and a requisition was made of quotas "to build fortifications and to aid one another." "The other colonies will not contribute," wrote Lord Cornbury, from New York, "till they are compelled by act of parliament;" and he afterward solicited "an act of parliament for the establishment of a well-regulated militia everywhere." In Virginia, the burgesses would do nothing "that was disagreeable to a prejudiced people," and excused themselves from complying with the requisition. So did all the colonies: "New York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas," were informed against, as "transcripts of New England," which furnished "the worst of examples."

"Till the proprieties are brought under the queen's government," wrote Lord Cornbury, in 1702, "they will be detrimental to the other settlements." "Connecticut and Rhode Island," he added, the next year, "hate everybody that owns any subjection to the queen." The chief justice of New York, in July 1704, thus warned the secretary of state: "Antimonarchical principles and malice to the church of England daily increase in most proprietary governments, not omitting

Boston; and, to my own knowledge, some of their leading men already begin to talk of shaking off their subjection to the crown of England."

Roused by continued complaints, the privy council, in December, 1705, summoned the board of trade "to lay before the queen the misfeasances of the proprieties, and the advantage that may arise from reducing them." The board obeyed, and, in January 1706, represented the original defects in the forms of the charter governments, their assumed independence, their antagonism to the prerogative, the difficulty of executing acts of parliament in provinces where their validity was scarcely admitted, the present inconveniences of administration, and the greater ones which were to come. A bill was, in consequence, introduced into the commons, "for the better regulation of the charter governments;" but it was not sustained, for the ministry were divided in judgment as to the remedy. The inquiry in the house of lords, in 1708, was without results.

The shyness of the English parliament to tax America or to abrogate American charters was changed into eagerness to interfere, when any question related to trade. Of the great maritime powers, England was the last to establish the colonial system in its severity; yet, pleading "the usage of other nations to keep their plantations' trade to themselves," we have seen that, in the reign of Charles I., she too renewed and extended that colonial monopoly, connecting it with a corn law. Every state, it was argued, has, in exclusion of all others, an indisputable right to the services of its own subjects; England should be the sole market for all products of America, and the only storehouse for its supplies.

In these opinions, the change of dynasty made no difference. The enforcement of the mercantile system in its intensest form is a characteristic of the policy of the aristocratic revolution of England. By the corn laws, English agriculture became an associate in the system of artificial legislation. "The value of lands" began to be urged as a motive for oppressing the colonies. All questions on colonial liberty and affairs were decided from the point of view of English commerce and the interests of the great landholders. It was said

that New York had never respected the acts of trade; that Pennsylvania and Carolina were the refuge of the illicit trader; that the mariners of New England distributed the productions of the tropics through the world. By an act of 1696, all former acts giving a monopoly of the colonial trade to England were renewed, and, to effect their rigid execution, the paramount authority of parliament was strictly asserted. Colonial commerce could be conducted only in ships built, owned, and commanded by the people of England or of the colonies. A clause giving a severe construction to the act of 1672 declared that, even after the payment of export duties on the products of the colonies, those products should not be taken to a foreign market; at the same time, "the officers for collecting and managing his majesty's revenues" in America obtained equal powers of visiting, searching, and entering warehouses and wharfs with the officers of the customs in England; charters were for the first time overruled by an act of parliament, and the appointment of the proprietary governors was subjected to the royal negative; all governors were ordered to promise by oath their utmost efforts to carry every clause of the acts of trade into effect; and every American law or custom repugnant to this or any other English statute for the colonies, made or hereafter to be made, was abrogated, as "illegal, null, and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

The words were explicit, both declaratory and enacting; but it was not easy to restrain the trade of a continent. In March, 1697, the house of lords, after an inquiry, represented to the king the continuance of illegal practices, and advised "courts of admiralty in the plantations, that offences against the act of navigation might no longer be decided by judges and jurors who were themselves often the greatest offenders." In 1698, the commissioners for the customs joined in the demand; and royalists of the next century were glad to repeat that Locke sanctioned the measure. The crown lawyers overruled all objections derived from charters, and the king set up his courts of vice-admiralty in America.

In 1699, the system, which made England the only market and the only storehouse for the colonies, received a new development by an act of parliament, which reached the door of

every farm-house within them, and embodied the despotic will of a selfishness known only to highly civilized life. As yet, the owners of land were not sufficiently pledged to the colonial system. Wool was the great staple of England, and its growers and manufacturers envied the colonies the possession of a flock of sheep, a spindle, or a loom. The preamble to an act of parliament avows the motive for a restraining law in the conviction, that colonial industry would "inevitably sink the value of lands" in England. The mother country could esteem the present interest of its landholders paramount to natural justice. The clause, which I am about to cite, is a memorial of a delusion which once pervaded all Western Europe, and which has already so passed away that men grow incredulous of its former existence: "After the first day of December 1699, no wool, or manufacture made or mixed with wool, being the produce or manufacture of any of the English plantations in America, shall be loaden in any ship or vessel, upon any pretence whatsoever—nor loaden upon any horse, cart, or other carriage—to be carried out of the English plantations to any other of the said plantations, or to any other place whatsoever." The fabrics of Connecticut might not seek a market in Massachusetts, or be carried to Albany for traffic with the Indians. An English sailor, finding himself in want of clothes in an American harbor, might buy there forty shillings' worth of woollens, but not more; and this small concession was soon repealed. Did a colonial assembly show favor to manufactures, the board of trade was sure to interpose. Error, like a cloud, must be seen from a distance to be measured. Somers and Locke saw no wrong in this legislation, as Jeremy Taylor and Berkeley had seen none in that which established the Anglican church in Ireland. England sought with foreign states a convenient tariff; in the colonies, it prohibited industry. The interests of landlords and manufacturers, jointly fostered by artificial legislation, so corrupted the public judgment that the intolerable injustice of the mercantile system was not surmised.

In Virginia, the poverty of the people compelled them to attempt coarse manufactures, or to go unclad; yet Nicholson, the royal governor, advised that parliament should forbid the Virginians to make their own clothing. Spotswood repeats

the complaint: "The people, more of necessity than of inclination, attempt to clothe themselves with their own manufactures;" adding that "it is certainly necessary to divert their application to some commodity less prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain." In 1701, the charter colonies were reproached by the lords of trade "with promoting and propagating woollen and other manufactures proper to England." The English need not fear to conquer Canada: such was the reasoning of an American agent; for, in Canada, "where the cold is extreme, and snow lies so long on the ground, sheep will never thrive so as to make the woollen manufactures possible, which is the only thing that can make a plantation unprofitable to the crown." The policy was continued by every administration.

To the enumerated commodities, which could be sold only in countries belonging to the crown of England, molasses and rice were added in 1704; though in 1730 rice was set free.

Irish linen cloth was afterward conditionally excepted; but at the end of three years Ireland was abruptly dismissed from partnership in the colonial monopoly; even while the enumerated products might still be carried to "other English plantations."

A British parliament could easily make these enactments, but America evaded them as unjust. From Pennsylvania, the judge of the court of admiralty—a court hated in that colony, as "more destructive to freedom than the ship-money"—wrote home that his "commission could be of no effect, while the government denied the force of the acts of parliament;" and though William Penn entered a plea that his people were "not so disobedient as mistaken and ignorant," yet in August, 1699, the board of trade reported "the bad disposition of that people and the mismanagement of that administration, as requiring a speedy remedy."

In New Hampshire, Lord Bellomont, in November 1700, found that the people "laughed at the orders of the board" of trade against carrying their lumber directly to Portugal. In the same year, the councillors of Massachusetts were openly "indignant at the acts of navigation;" insisting that "they were as much Englishmen as those in England, and had a right, therefore, to all the privileges which the people of Eng-

land enjoyed." And the people of Boston were told from the pulpit that they were "not bound in conscience to obey the laws of England, having no representatives there of their choosing." To the orders sent to Carolina, "to prosecute breaches of the act of navigation," the replies were but complaints "of encouragement to illicit trade, and opposition to the officers of the revenue and the admiralty." "The malignant humor of the proprietary governments" infected Maryland and Virginia. From 1688 to 1698, the plantation duties yielded no more than the expenses of management; nor could all the energy of authority make them bring into the exchequer more than about a thousand pounds a year.

The maritime wars had increased piracy; and, in April 1700, parliament seized the opportunity of the crime to illustrate its authority. It defined the offence, overruled charters in constituting courts for its trial, and, should a charter governor fail to obey the new statute, declared the charter of his colony forfeited. "The parliament, having in view the refractoriness of New England and other plantations," thus wrote the board of trade, "have now passed an act that extends to all; by which those of New England may perceive that, where the public good does suffer by their obstinacy, the proper remedy will be found here."

The coins that circulated in the colonies were chiefly foreign; and each colony had a rate of its own, which was already disturbed by the issue of paper money in Massachusetts. In 1704, a uniform valuation of the several foreign coins which passed in payments in the plantations was fixed in England according to weight and assays; a uniform scale of legalized depreciation was ordered for the colonies by a proclamation of Queen Anne. In England, for example, the Spanish dollar was rated at four shillings and sixpence; in the colonies, at six shillings, and so of the rest. The rate for America, which was enjoined by the queen's will, was always fluctuating and always tending to fall. In 1708, parliament interfered to support the decree of the prerogative by the authority of an imperial statute; and this proved as ineffectual as the proclamation. The evil was never overcome by England.

The American post-office defrayed its own expenses. By

an act of prerogative, William III. had, in 1692, appointed a postmaster for the northern provinces. New York feebly encouraged, Massachusetts neglected, the enterprise. In 1710, the British parliament erected a post-office for America, establishing the rates of postage, conferring the freedom of all ferries, appointing a summary process for collecting dues, and making New York the centre of its operations. The routes of the mails were gradually extended through all the colonies; Virginia, where it was introduced in 1718, at first took alarm; for "the people," as Spotswood informed the board, "believed that parliament could not lay any tax on them without the consent of the general assembly." But postage soon came to be regarded as an equitable payment for a valuable service.

The British parliament interfered for one other purpose, not so directly connected with trade. In 1704, to emancipate the English navy from dependence on Sweden, a bounty was offered on naval stores, and was accompanied by a proviso which extended the jurisdiction of parliament to every grove north of the Delaware. Every pitch-pine tree, not in an enclosure, was consecrated to the purposes of the English navy; and in the undivided domain, no tree fit for a mast might be cut without the queen's license.

Beyond these measures, parliament at that time did not proceed. The English lawyers of the day had no doubt of the power of parliament to tax America. But even the impetuous Saint-John dared not attempt to pay the royal officers in the colonies by a parliamentary tax. In August, 1711, Oxford, the lord treasurer, inquired of the board of trade "whether there be not money of her majesty's revenue in that country to pay" the garrison at Port Royal; and in June 1713, "foreseeing that great expense would arise to the kingdom by the large supplies of stores demanded for the colonies, he desired the board of trade to consider how they might be made to supply themselves." But faction within the English cabinet baffled every effort at system. The papers of the board of trade began to lie unnoticed in the office of the secretary of state; its annual reports ceased; and whoever had colonial business to transact went directly to the privy council, to the admiralty, to the treasury.

With every year prophecies had been made of the tendencies of the colonies to independence. "In all these provinces and plantations," thus, in August 1698, wrote Nicholson, who had been in office in New York and Maryland, and was then governor of Virginia, "a great many people, especially in those under proprietaries, and the two others of Connecticut and Rhode Island, think that no law of England ought to be in force and binding on them without their own consent; for they foolishly say that they have no representative sent from themselves to the parliament, and they look upon all laws made in England, that put any restraint upon them, to be great hardships." Ireland was already reasoning in the same manner; and its writers joined America in disavowing the validity of British statutes over nations not represented in the British legislature.

In 1701, the lords of trade, in a public document, declared: "The independency the colonies thirst after is now notorious." "Commonwealth notions improve daily," wrote Quarry, the surveyor-general of the customs, in 1703; "and, if it be not checked in time, the rights and privileges of English subjects will be thought too narrow." In 1704, the lords of trade reported against suffering assemblies to make representations to the queen by separate agents. In 1705, it was said in print: "The colonists will, in process of time, cast off their allegiance to England, and set up a government of their own;" and by degrees it came to be remarked, "by people of all conditions and qualities, that their increasing numbers and wealth, joined to their great distance from Britain, would give them an opportunity, in the course of some years, to throw off their dependence on the nation, and declare themselves a free state, if not curbed in time, by being made entirely subject to the crown." "Some great men professed their belief of the feasibleness of it, and the probability of its some time or other actually coming to pass."

CHAPTER V.

THE RED MEN EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

Our country was as ripe for governing itself in 1689 as in 1776; but the time was not yet come. The colonies were riveted into a system, which every maritime power in Europe had assisted to frame, and which bound in strong bonds every other quarter of the globe. Their independence would be a revolution in the commercial policy of the world. There was no union among the settlements that as yet did but fringe the Atlantic; and not one nation in Europe would at that day have fostered their insurrection. When Austria, with Belgium, shall abandon its hereditary warfare against France; when Spain and Holland, favored by the armed neutrality of Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Russia, shall be ready to join with France in repressing the commercial ambition of England—then, and not till then, will American independence become possible. These changes, improbable as they might have seemed, were to spring from the false maxims of trade and navigation. Our soil was the destined battle-ground of the grand conflict for commercial ascendency. The struggles for maritime and colonial dominion, which transformed the unsuccessful competitors into the defenders of the freedom of the seas, having, in their progress, taught our fathers union, prepared for our country the opportunity of independence.

The object of the acts of trade and navigation was to sell as much as possible, to buy as little as possible. Pushed to an extreme, they would destroy all commerce; in a mitigated form, they provoked European wars; for each nation, in its traffic, sought to levy tribute on all others in favor of its industry, and envied the wealth of a rival as its own loss.

The commercial interest became paramount in European politics; it framed alliances, controlled wars, and dictated treaties. After the discovery of America and of the path by water to India, the oceans vindicated their rights as natural highways. Navigation in ancient days kept near the coast, or was but a passage from isle to isle; its chosen way was now upon the boundless deep. Of old the objects of trade were restricted; for how could rice or sugar be brought across continents from the Ganges? Now European ships gathered every production of the east and the west; tea, sugar, coffee, and spices from China and Hindostan; masts from American forests; furs from Hudson's bay; men from Africa.

The Phœnician, Greek, and Italian republics, each began as a city government, retaining its municipal character after the enlargement of its jurisdiction and the diffusion of its colonies. The great European colonizing powers were monarchies, grasping at continents for their plantations. In the tropical isles of America and the East they made their gardens for the fruits of the torrid zone; the Cordilleras and the Andes supplied their mints with bullion; points on the coasts of Africa and Asia were selected as commercial stations; and the colonists that swarmed to the temperate regions of America—such was the universal metropolitan aspiration—were to consume infinite quantities of European manufactures.

That the mercantile system should be applied by each nation to its own colonies was tolerated by the political morality of that day. Each metropolis was at war with the interests and natural rights of its dependencies; and as each single colony was too feeble for resistance, colonial oppression was destined to endure as long as the union of the oppressors. But the commercial jealousies of Europe extended, from the first, to the other continents; and the home relations of the states of the Old World to each other were finally surpassed in importance by their transatlantic conflicts. The system of trade and navigation, being founded in selfish injustice, was doomed not only to expire, but, by overthrowing the mighty fabric of the colonial system, to emancipate commerce and colonies.

Before the discovery of America, Portugal had reached Madeira and the Azores, the Cape Verde islands and Congo;

within six years after the discovery of Hayti, Vasco da Gama, sailing where none but Africans from Carthage had preceded, turned the Cape of Good Hope, arrived at Mozambique, passed beyond the Arabian peninsula, landed at Calicut, and made an establishment at Cochin.

The brilliant temerity of the same nation achieved establishments on western and eastern Africa, in Arabia and Persia, in Hindostan and the eastern isles, and in Brazil. The closest system of monopoly, combined with the despotism of the sovereign and the intolerance of the priesthood, precipitated the decay of Portuguese commerce; and the Moors, the Persians, Holland, and Spain, dismantled Portugal of her acquisitions at so early a period that she was never involved, as a leading party, in the wars of North America.

Conforming to the division of the world by Pope Alexander VI., Spain never reached the Asiatic world except by travelling west, and never took possession of any territory in Asia beyond the Philippine isles. But in America there grew up a Spanish world of boundless extent. Marching with British America on the south from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, Spain was easily involved in controversy with England on reciprocal territorial encroachments; and, excluding foreigners from all participation in her colonial trade, she could not but arouse the cupidity of English commerce, bent on extending itself by smuggling, and, if necessary, by force. Yet the maxims according to which Spain ruled islands and half a continent were adopted by England; and both powers became involved in the methods of monopoly.

Holland had risen into greatness as the champion of maritime freedom; yet the republic, possessing spice islands in the Indian seas, admitted to them no European flag but its own.

France and England were the two boldest, most powerful, and most persistent competitors for new acquisitions; and so long as each of them governed what they acquired by the maxims of exclusiveness, they became in truth natural enemies.

In France the monarchy had subjected the nobility to the crown, and given dignity to the class of citizens. In the magistracy, as in the church, they could reach high employments; and the members of the royal council were, almost without ex-

ception, selected from the ignoble. The middling class was constantly increasing in importance; and the energies of the kingdom, if not employed in arms for aggrandizement, began to be husbanded for commerce, manufactures, and the arts.

Even before the days of Colbert the colonial rivalry with England had begun. When Queen Elizabeth gave a charter to a first not very successful English East India company, France, under Richelieu, struggled, though vainly, to share the great commerce of Asia. The same year in which England took possession of Barbados, Frenchmen occupied the half of St. Christopher's. Did England add half St. Christopher's, Nevis, and at last Jamaica, France gained Martinique and Guadaloupe with smaller islets, founded a colony at Cayenne, and, by the aid of buccaneers, took possession of the west of Hayti. England, by its devices of tariffs and prohibitions, and by the royal assent to the act of navigation, sought to call into action every power of production, hardly a year before Colbert, in 1664, attempted in like manner by artificial legislation to foster the industries and finances of France, and insure to it spacious seaports, canals, colonies, and a navy. The English East India company had but just revived under Charles II., when France gave privileges to an East India commercial corporation; and the banner of the Bourbons, in 1675, reached Malabar and Coromandel. The British fourth African company, of 1674, with the Stuarts for stockholders and the slave-trade for its object, in 1679 found a rival in the Senegal company; and, in 1685, just when the French king was most zealous for the conversion of the Huguenots, he established a Guinea company to trade from Sierra Leone to the Cape of Good Hope. France, through Colbert and Seignelay, had in conception given her colonial system an extent even vaster than that of the British; and the prelude to the disruption of the European colonial system, which was sure to be the overthrow of the system of monopoly in trade and navigation, was the contest for the valley of the Mississippi.

The Europeans had on every side drawn near the red men; but, however eager the intruders might be to appropriate dominion by carving their emblems on trees and marking their lines of anticipated empire on maps, their respective settle

ments were still kept asunder by a wilderness. France and England, in their war for American territory, were therefore compelled to seek allies in its aboriginal inhabitants.

The aspect of the red men of the United States was so uniform that there is no method of grouping them into families but by their languages.

That which was the most widely diffused, and the most fertile in dialects, received from the French the name of ALGONKIN. It was the mother tongue of those who greeted the colonists of Raleigh at Roanoke, of those who welcomed the pilgrims at Plymouth. It was heard from the bay of Gaspé to the valley of the Des Moines; from Cape Fear and, it may be, from the Savannah, to the land of the Esquimaux; from the Cumberland river of Kentucky to the southern bank of the Missinipi. It was spoken, though not exclusively, in a territory that extended through sixty degrees of longitude and more than twenty degrees of latitude. The Blackfoot tribe, which dwells at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, between the head-waters of the Saskatchewan and the Missouri, and the Cheyenne, which had roamed to the borders of the North and South Platte rivers, are classed as Algonkins.

The Micmacs, who occupied the east of the continent, south of the little tribe that dwelt round the bay of Gaspé, held possession of Nova Scotia and the adjacent isles, and probably never much exceeded three thousand in number. They were known to our fathers only as the active allies of the French; they often invaded, but never inhabited, New England.

The Etchemins, or Canoemen, dwelt not only on the St. John's river, the Ouygondy of the natives, but on the St. Croix, which Champlain always called from their name, and they extended as far west, at least, as Mount Desert.

Next to these came the Abenakis, of whom one tribe has left its name to the Penobscot, and another to the Androscoggin; while a third, under the auspices of Jesuits, had its chapel and its fixed abode in the fertile fields of Norridgewock.

Clans that disappeared from their ancient hunting-grounds migrated to the North and West. Of the Sokokis, who seem to have dwelt near Saco and to have had an alliance with the Mohawks, many, in 1646, abandoned the region where they

first became known to European voyagers, and placed themselves under the French in Canada.

The forests west of the Saco, New Hampshire, and the country as far as Salem, constituted the sachemship of Penacook, or Pawtucket, and often afforded a refuge to the remnants of feebler nations around them. The tribe of the Massachusetts, even before the colonization of the country, had almost disappeared from the shores of the bay that bears its name; and the villages of the interior resembled insulated and nearly independent bands, that had lost themselves in the wilderness.

Of the Pokanokets, who dwelt round Mount Hope, and were sovereigns over Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and a part of Cape Cod; of the Narragansetts, who dwelt between the bay that bears their name and the present limits of Connecticut, holding dominion over Rhode Island and its vicinity, as well as a part of Long Island, the most civilized of the northern nations; of the Pequods, the branch of the Mohegans that occupied the eastern side of Connecticut, and ruled a part of Long Island—the destruction has already been related. The country between the banks of the Connecticut and the Hudson was possessed by independent villages of the Mohegans, kindred with the Manhattans, whose few "smokes" once rose amid the forests on New York island.

The Lenni-Lenape, in their two divisions of the Minsi and the Delawares, occupied New Jersey, the valley of the Delaware far up toward the sources of that river, and the basin of the Schuylkill. The Delawares were pledged to a system of peace; their passiveness was the degrading confession of their subjection by the Five Nations, who had stripped them of their rights as warriors and compelled them to endure taunts as women.

Beyond the Delaware, on the eastern shore, dwelt the Nanticokes, who disappeared, or melted imperceptibly into other tribes; and the names of Accomack and Pamlico are the chief memorials of tribes that made dialects of the Algonkin the mother tongue of the natives along the sea-coast as far south, at least, as Cape Hatteras. It is probable that the Corees, or Coramines, who dwelt to the southward of the

Neuse river, spoke a kindred language, thus establishing Cape Fear as the southern limit of the Algonkin speech.

In Virginia, the same language was heard throughout the tribes of the eastern shore and the villages west of the Chesapeake, from the most southern tributaries of James river to the Patuxent.

The Shawnees connect the south-eastern Algonkins with the West. The basin of the Cumberland river is marked by the earliest French geographers as the home of this restless nation. A part of them afterward had their "cabins" and their "springs" in the neighborhood of Winchester. Their principal bands removed from their hunting-fields in Kentucky to the head-waters of one of the great rivers of South Carolina, and, at a later day, an encampment of four hundred and fifty of them, who had been straggling in the woods for four years, was found not far north of the head-waters of the Mobile river, on their way to the country of the Muskohgees. It was about the year 1698 that three or four score of their families, with the consent of the government of Pennsylvania, left Carolina and planted themselves on the Susquehannah. Others followed, and when, in 1732, the number of Indian fighting men in Pennsylvania was estimated at seven hundred, one half of them were Shawnee emigrants. So desolate was the wilderness that a vagabond tribe could wander undisturbed from Cumberland river to the Alabama, from the head-waters of the Santee to the Susquehannah.

The abode of the Miamis was more stable. "My forefather," said the Miami orator Little Turtle, at Greenville, "kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the head-waters of Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan. These are the boundaries within which the prints of my ancestors' houses are everywhere to be seen." The early French narratives confirm his words. The forests beyond Detroit were found unoccupied, or, it may be, roamed over by bands too feeble to attract a trader or win a missionary; the Ottawas, Algonkin fugitives from the basin of the magnificent river whose name commemorates them, fled to the bay of Saginaw, and took possession of the

north of the peninsula as of a derelict country; yet without disturbing the Miamis, who occupied its southern moiety.

The Illinois were kindred to the Miamis, and their country lay between the Wabash, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. Marquette came upon a village of them on the Des Moines, but its occupants soon withdrew to the east of the Mississippi, and Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Peoria, still preserve the names of the principal bands, of which the original strength has been greatly exaggerated. The vague tales of a considerable population vanish before the accurate observation of the French missionaries, who found in the wide wilderness of Illinois scarcely three or four villages. On the discovery of America, the number of the scattered tenants of the territory which now forms the states of Ohio and Michigan, of Indiana, and Illinois, and Kentucky, could hardly have exceeded eighteen thousand.

In the early part of the eighteenth century the Pottawatomies had crowded the Miamis from their dwellings at Chicago; the intruders came from the islands near the entrance of Green bay, and were a branch of the great nation of the Ojibwas. That nation is the Algonkin tribe of whose dialect, mythology, traditions, and customs, we have the fullest accounts. They held the country from the mouth of Green bay to the head-waters of Lake Superior, and were early visited by the French at Sault St. Mary and Chegoimegon. They adopted into their tribes many of the Ottawas from Upper Canada, and were themselves often included by the early French writers under that name.

Ottawa is but the Algonkin word for "trader;" and Mascoutins are "dwellers in the prairie." The latter hardly implies a band of Indians distinct from other nations; but history recognises, as a separate Algonkin tribe near Green bay, the Menomonies, who were found there in 1669, who retained their ancient territory long after the period of French and of English supremacy, and who prove their high antiquity as a nation by their singular dialect.

South-west of the Menomonies, the restless Sacs and Foxes, ever dreaded by the French, held the passes from Green bay and Fox river to the Mississippi, and with insatiate avidity roamed defiantly over the whole country between Wisconsin

and the upper branches of the Illinois. The Shawnees are said to have an affinity with this nation; that the Kickapoos, who established themselves by conquest in the north of Illinois, are but a branch of it, is demonstrated by their speech.

The tribes of the Algonkin family were scattered over a moiety, or perhaps more than a moiety, of the territory east of the Mississippi and south of the St. Lawrence, and constituted about one half of the original population of that territory.

North-west of the Sacs and the Foxes, west of the Ojibwas, bands of the Sioux, or Dakotas, had encamped on prairies east of the Mississippi, vagrants between the head-waters of Lake Superior and the falls of St. Anthony. They were a branch of the great family which, dwelling for the most part west of the Mississippi and the Red river, extended from the Saskatchawan to lands south of the Arkansas. French traders discovered their wigwams in 1659; Hennepin was among them, on his expedition to the north; Joseph Marest and another Jesuit visited them in 1687, and again in 1689. There seemed to exist a hereditary warfare between them and the Ojibwas. Their only relations to the colonists, whether of France or England, were, at this early period, accidental. One little community of the Dakota family, the Winnebagoes, dwelling between Green bay and the lake that bears their name, preferred rather to be environed by Algonkins than to stay in the dangerous vicinity of their own kindred.

The midlands of Carolina sheltered the Catawbas. Their villages included the Woccons, and their language is thought to belong to the Dakota stock. The oldest enumeration of them was made in 1743, and gave a return of but four hundred. History knows them chiefly as the hereditary foes of the Iroquois, before whose prowess and numbers they dwindled away.

The nations which spoke dialects of the Iroquois, or, as it has also been called, of the Wyandot, were, on the discovery of America, powerful in numbers, and diffused over a wide territory. The peninsula enclosed between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario had been the dwelling-place of the five confederated tribes of the Hurons. After their defeat by the Five Nations, a part descended the St. Lawrence, and their progeny may still

be seen near Quebec; a part were adopted, on equal terms, into the tribes of their conquerors; the Wyandots fled beyond Lake Superior and hid themselves in the wastes that divided the Ojibwas from their western foes. In 1671, they retreated before the Sioux, and made their home first at St. Mary's and at Michilimackinac, and afterward near the post of Detroit. Thus the Wyandots within our borders were emigrants from Canada. Leaving to the Miamis the country beyond the Miami of the lakes, they gradually acquired a claim to the territory from that river along Lake Erie to the western boundary of New York.

The institutions of the Five Nations which dwelt in western New York will be described hereafter. The number of their warriors was declared by the French, in 1660, to have been two thousand two hundred; and, in 1677, this was confirmed by an English agent, sent on purpose to ascertain their strength.

A few families of the Iroquois, who raised their huts round Fort Frontenac to the north of Lake Ontario, and two villages of Iroquois converts, near Montreal, the Cahnewagas of New England writers, lived in amity with the French.

At the south, the Chowan and the Nottoway, villages of the Iroquois family, as well as the Meherrin, who may have been a remnant of Dakotas, have left their names to the rivers along which they dwelt; the Tuscaroras, the most powerful tribe in North Carolina, were certainly kindred with the Five Nations. In 1708, their fifteen towns still occupied the upper country on the Neuse and the Tar.

The mountaineers of aboriginal America were the CHEROKEES, who occupied the upper valley of the Tennessee river as far west as Muscle Shoals, and the highlands of Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama—the salubrious and most picturesque region east of the Mississippi. Their homes were encircled by blue hills rising beyond hills, of which the lofty points kindle with the early light, and the overshadowing ridges, like masses of clouds, envelop the valleys. There the rocky cliffs, towering in naked grandeur, mock the lightning, and send from peak to peak the loudest peals of the thunderstorm; there the gentler slopes are decorated with magno-

lias and flowering forest-trees and roving climbers, and ring with the perpetual note of the whippoorwill; there wholesome water gushes profusely from the earth in transparent springs; snow-white cascades glitter on the hill-sides; and the rivers, shallow but pleasant to the eye, rush through narrow vales, which the abundant strawberry crimsons and coppices of rhododendron and flaming azalea adorn. At the fall of the leaf, the ground is thickly strewn with the fruit of the hickory and the chestnut. The fertile soil teems with luxuriant herbage, on which the roebuck fattens; the vivifying breeze is laden with fragrance; and daybreak is ever welcomed by the shrill cries of the social night-hawk and the liquid carols of the mocking-bird. Through this lovely region were scattered the villages of the Cherokees, nearly fifty in number, each consisting of but a few cabins, erected where the bend in the mountain stream offered at once a defence and a strip of alluvial soil for culture. Their towns were always by the side of some creek or river, and they loved their native land; above all, they loved its rivers, the Keowee, the Tugeloo, the Flint, and the branches of the Tennessee. Running waters, inviting to the bath, tempting the angler, alluring wild fowl, were necessary to their paradise. The organization of their language has a common character with other Indian languages east of the Mississippi, but etymology has not been able to discover conclusive analogies between the roots of their words. The "beloved" people of the Cherokees were a nation by themselves. Who can say for how many centuries, safe in their undiscovered fastnesses, they had decked their war-chiefs with the feathers of the eagle's tail, and listened to the counsels of their "old beloved men"? Who can tell how often the waves of barbarous migrations may have broken harmlessly against their cliffs?

South-east of the Cherokees dwelt the Uchees. They claimed the country above and below Augusta, and, at the earliest period respecting which we can form a surmise, seem not to have extended beyond the Chattahoochee; yet they boast to have been the oldest inhabitants of that region. They constituted but an inconsiderable band in the Creek confederacy, and are known as a distinct family, not from political or-

ganization, but from their singularly harsh and guttural language. When first discovered, they were but a remnant, favoring the conjecture that, from the North and West, tribe may have pressed upon tribe; that successions of nations may have been exterminated by invading nations; that even languages, which are the least perishable monument of the savages, may have become extinct.

The NATCHEZ became merged in the same confederacy; but they, with the Taensas, are known as a distinct nation, residing in scarcely more than four or five villages, of which the largest rose near the banks of the Mississippi. The acute Vater perceived signs that they spoke an original tongue, and, by the persevering curiosity of Gallatin, it is established that the Natchez were distinguished from the tribes around them less by their customs and the degree of their civilization than by their language, which, as far as comparisons have been instituted, has no etymological affinity with any other whatever. Here again the imagination too readily invents theories; and the tradition has been widely received that the dominion of the Natchez once extended even to the Wabash. History knows them only as a feeble and inconsiderable nation, who in the eighteenth century attached themselves to the confederacy of the Creeks.

With the exception of the Uchees and the Natchez, the country south-east, south, and west of the Cherokees, to the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, to the Mississippi and the confluence of the Tennessee and Ohio, was in the possession of one great family of nations, of which the language was named by the French the MOBILIAN, and is described by Gallatin as the MUSKOHGEE-CHOCTA. It included three confederacies.

The country bounded on the Ohio at the north, on the Mississippi at the west, on the east by a line drawn from the bend in the Cumberland river to the Muscle Shoals of the Tennessee, and extending at the south into the territory of the state of Mississippi, was the land of the cheerful, brave CHICASAWS, the faithful, the invincible allies of the English; but their chosen abodes were in the upland country, which gives birth to the Yazoo and the Tombigbee, where the grass

is verdant in midwinter, the bluebird and the robin are heard in February; the springs of pure water gurgle up through white sands, to flow through natural bowers of evergreen holly; and the maize springs profusely from the generous soil. The region is as happy as any beneath the sun, and was so dear to its occupants that, though not numerous, they were in its defence the most intrepid warriors of the South.

Below the Chicasaws, between the Mississippi and the Tombigbee, was the land of the Choctaws, who were gathered on the eastern frontier into compact villages, but elsewhere were scattered through the interior of their territory. Dwelling in plains or among gentle hills, they excelled every North American tribe in the culture of corn, and placed little dependence on the chase. Their country was healthful, abounding in brooks. The number of their warriors perhaps exceeded four thousand. Their dialect of the Mobilian so nearly resembles that of the Chicasaws that they almost seemed but one nation. The Choctaws were allies of the French, yet preserving their independence; their love for their country was intense, and they too contemned danger in its defence.

The ridge that divided the Tombigbee from the Alabama was the line that separated the Choctaws from the groups of tribes which were soon united in the confederacy of the CREEKS or Muskohgees. Their territory, including all Florida, reached, on the north, to the Cherokees; on the north-east and east, to the country on the Savannah and to the Atlantic. Along the sea, their northern limit seems to have extended almost to Cape Fear; at least, the tribes with which the settlers at Charleston first waged war are enumerated by one writer as branches of the Muskohgees. Their population, spread over a fourfold wider territory, did not outnumber that of the Choctaws. Their towns were situated on the banks of beautiful creeks; the waters of their bold rivers, from the Coosa to the Chattahoochee, descended rapidly, with a clear current, through healthful and fertile regions; they were careful in their agriculture, and, before going to war, assisted their women to plant. In Florida they welcomed the Spanish missionaries; and throughout their country they derived so much benefit from the arts of civilization that their numbers promised to

increase. Being placed between the English of Carolina, the French of Louisiana, the Spaniards of Florida—bordering on the Choctaws, the Chicasaws, and the Cherokees—they were esteemed as the most important Indian nation north of the Gulf of Mexico. They readily gave shelter to fugitives from other tribes; and their speech became so modified that, with radical resemblances, it has the widest departure from its kindred dialects. The Yamassees, sometimes called the Savannahs, were one of their bands; the Seminoles of Florida were but "wild men" from their confederacy, who neglected agriculture for the chase.

Such is a synopsis of the American nations east of the Mississippi. It is not easy to estimate their probable numbers at the period of their discovery. Many of them—the Narragansetts, the Illinois—boasted of the superior strength of their former condition; and, from wonder, from fear, from the ambition of exciting surprise, early travellers often repeated the exaggerations of savage vanity. The Hurons of Upper Canada were thought to number many more than thirty thousand, perhaps even fifty thousand, souls; yet, according to the more exact enumeration of 1639, they could not have exceeded ten thousand. In the heart of a wilderness a few cabins seemed like a city; and to the pilgrim, who had walked for weeks without meeting a human being, a territory would appear well peopled where, in every few days, a wigwam could be encountered. Vermont and north-western Massachusetts and much of New Hampshire were solitudes; Ohio, a part of Indiana, the largest part of Michigan, remained open to Indian emigration long after America began to be colonized by Europeans. From the portage between the Fox and the Wisconsin to the Des Moines, Marquette saw neither the countenance nor the footstep of man. In Illinois, so friendly to the habits of savage life, the Franciscan Zenobe Mambré, whose journal is preserved by Le Clercq, describes the "only large village" as containing seven or eight thousand souls; Father Rasles imagined he had seen in one place twelve hundred fires, kindled for more than two thousand families; other missionaries who made their abode there describe their journeys as through appalling solitudes; they represent their vocation as a chase

after a savage, that was scarce ever to be found; and they could establish hardly five, or even three, villages in the whole region. Kentucky, after the expulsion of the Shawnees, remained the park of the Cherokees. The banished tribe easily fled up the valley of the Cumberland river, to find a vacant region in the highlands of Carolina; and a part of them for years roved to and fro in wildernesses west of the Cherokees. On early maps the low country from the Mobile to Florida is marked as vacant. The oldest reports from Georgia dwell on the absence of Indians from the vicinity of Savannah, and will not admit that there were more than a few within four hundred miles. There are hearsay and vague accounts of Indian war-parties composed of many hundreds; those who wrote from knowledge furnish means of comparison and correction. The population of the Five Nations may have varied from ten to thirteen thousand; and their warriors roamed as conquerors from Hudson's Bay to Carolina, from the Kennebec to the Tennessee. Very great uncertainty must indeed attend any estimate of the original number of Indians east of the Mississippi and south of the St. Lawrence and the chain of lakes. We shall approach, and perhaps rather exceed, a just estimate of their numbers at the spring-time of English colonization, if to the various tribes of the Algonkin race we allow about ninety thousand; of the eastern Dakotas less than three thousand; of the Iroquois, including their southern kindred, about seventeen thousand; of the Catawbas, three thousand; of the Cherokees, twelve thousand; of the Mobilian confederacies and tribes —that is, of the Chicasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks, including the Seminoles—fifty thousand; of the Uchees, one thousand; of the Natchez, four thousand: in all, it may be, not far from one hundred and eighty thousand souls.

In 1883, there remain of all the nations that formerly occupied the present area of the United States south of Alaska a few thousand less than existed in the sixteenth century east of the Mississippi.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LANGUAGES AND MANNERS OF THE RED MEN.

No horde of red men has been caught in its first wrestlings with nature to extort from her the art of expressing thought by gestures and sounds. A tribe has no more been found without a language than without eyesight or memory.

The American savage has tongue and palate and lips and throat; the power to utter flowing sounds, the power to hiss: hence the primitive sounds are essentially the same, and may almost all be expressed by the alphabet of European use. The tribes vary in their choice of sounds: the Oneidas always changed the letter *r*; the Algonkins have no *f*; the Iroquois family never use the semivowel *m*, or the labials. The Cherokees are destitute of the labials, but employ the semivowels. Of the several dialects of the Iroquois, that of the Oneidas is the most soft, being the only one that admits the letter *l*; that of the Senecas is rudest and most energetic. The Algonkin dialects, especially those of the Abenakis, heap up consonants with prodigal harshness; the Iroquois abound in a concurrence of vowels; in the Cherokee, every syllable ends with a vowel. But before acquaintance with Europeans, no one of them had discriminated the sounds which he articulated: east of the Mississippi there was no alphabet; and the only mode of writing was by rude imitations and symbols.

Each language, while it abounded in words to designate every object of experience, for "spiritual matters" was poor; it had no name for continence or justice, for gratitude or holiness. It required, said Loskiel, the labor of years to make the Delaware dialect capable of expressing abstract thought.

This materialism in the use of words gave picturesque

brilliancy to American discourse. Prosperity was as a bright sun or a cloudless sky; to establish peace was to plant a tree or to bury the tomahawk; to offer presents as a consolation to mourners was to cover the grave of the departed; griefs and hardships were thorns of the prickly pear. Especially the style of the Five Nations abounded in noble metaphors, and glowed with allegory.

The Indian does not separate the parts of speech from one another; he expresses a complex idea by grouping its separate elements together in one conglomerate word. The rude process is not a perfect synthesis, as in the conjugation of a Latin verb. It has with greater exactness been said of the red man, that he glues together the words expressing subject and object and number and person and case and time, and yet many more relations. This is the distinguishing mark of American speech; it pervaded the dialects of the Iroquois, of the Algonkin, and the Cherokee. When a new object was presented to an Indian, he would inquire its use and form for it a name which might include within itself an entire definition. So when Eliot, in his version of the Bible, translated *kneeling*, the word which he was compelled to frame was of eleven syllables.

The nouns implying relation, wrote Brebeuf, always include the signification of one of the three persons of the possessive pronoun. The missionaries could not translate the doxology literally, but chanted among the Hurons: "Glory be to our Father, and to his Son, and to their Holy Ghost."

In like manner the American languages wanted terms to express generalizations and classes. The forests abounded in many kinds of oak: the Algonkins had special names for each of them, but no generic word including them all.

"The sociableness of the nature of man appears in the wildest of them." To red men returning to their family no one would offer hindrance, "thus confessing the sweetness of their homes." They love society, and the joining together of houses and towns. With long poles fixed in the ground, and bent toward each other at the top, covered with birch or chestnut bark, and hung on the inside with embroidered mats, having no door but a loose skin, no hearth but the ground, no

chimney but an opening in the roof, the wigwam was quickly constructed and easily removed. Its size, whether round or oblong, was in proportion to the number of families that were to dwell in it; and commonly in one smoky cell the whole community—men, children, and women—were huddled together, careless of cleanliness, and making no privacy of actions of which some irrational animals seem ashamed.

Of the savage, license to gratify his animal instincts seemed the system of morals. The idea of chastity as a social duty was but feebly developed. And yet, wrote Roger Williams, "God hath planted in the hearts of the wildest of the sonnes of men a high and honorable esteem of the marriage-bed, insomuch that they universally submit unto it, and hold its violation abominable." Neither might marriages be contracted between kindred of near degree; the Iroquois might choose a wife of the same tribe with himself, but not of the same cabin; the Algonkin must look beyond those who used the same family symbol; the Cherokee would at one and the same time marry a mother and her daughter, but would never marry his own immediate kindred.

On forming an engagement, the bridegroom, or, if he were poor, his friends and neighbors, made a present to the bride's father, of whom no dowry was expected. The acceptance of the presents perfected the contract; the wife was purchased; and, for a season at least, the husband, surrendering his gains as a hunter to her family, had a home in her father's lodge.

Even in marriage the Indian abhorred constraint; from Florida to the St. Lawrence polygamy was permitted, though at the north it was not common; and the wilderness could show wigwams where "couples had lived together thirty, forty years." Love did not always light his happiest torch at the nuptials of the children of nature, and marriage had for them its sorrows and its crimes. The infidelities of the husband sometimes drove the helpless wife to suicide: the faithless wife had no protector; her husband might at his will insult or disfigure her or take her life. Divorce took place without formality by a simple separation or desertion, and, where there was no offspring, was of easy occurrence. Children were the strongest bond; for, if the mother was

discarded, it was the unwritten law of the red man that she should retain those whom she had borne.

Child-bearing to the Indian mother was comparatively easy and speedy. "In one quarter of an hour a woman would be merry in the house, and delivered, and merry againe; and within two days, abroad; and, after four or five dayes, at worke." The woman who uttered complaints or groans was esteemed worthy to be but the mother of cowards. Yet death sometimes followed. The pregnant woman continued her usual toils, bore her wonted burdens, followed her family even in its winter rambles. How helpless the Indian infant, born without shelter amid storms and ice! But fear nothing for him: the sentiment of maternity is at his side, and so long as his mother breathes he is safe. The squaw loves her child with instinctive passion; and, if she does not manifest it by lively caresses, her tenderness is real, wakeful, and constant. No savage mother ever trusted her babe to a hireling nurse; no savage mother ever put away her own child to suckle that of another. To the cradle, consisting of thin pieces of light wood, and gayly ornamented with quills of the porcupine and beads and rattles, the infant is firmly attached, and carefully wrapped in furs; and thus swathed, its back to the mother's back, is borne as the topmost burden—its dark eyes now cheerfully flashing light, now accompanying with tears the wailings which the plaintive melodies of the carrier cannot hush. Or, while the squaw toils in the field, she hangs her child, as spring does its blossoms, on the boughs of a tree, that it may be rocked by breezes from the land of souls, and soothed to sleep by the lullaby of the birds. Does the mother die, the nursling—such is Indian compassion—shares her grave.

On quitting the cradle, the children are left nearly naked in the cabin, to grow hardy and learn the use of their limbs. Juvenile sports are the same everywhere; children invent them for themselves; and the traveller, who finds through the wide world the same games, may rightly infer that an innate power instructs childhood in its amusements. There is no domestic government; the young do as they will. They are never earnestly reproved, injured, or beaten; a dash of cold water in the face is their heaviest punish-

ment. If they assist in the labors of the household, it is as a pastime, not as a charge. Yet they show respect to the chiefs, and defer with docility to those of their cabin. The attachment of savages to their offspring is extreme; and they cannot bear separation from them. Hence every attempt at founding schools for their children was a failure; a missionary would gather a little flock about him, and of a sudden, writes Le Jeune, "my birds flew away." From their insufficient and irregular supplies of clothing and food, they learn to endure hunger and rigorous seasons; of themselves they become fleet of foot and skilful in swimming; their courage is fed by tales respecting their ancestors, till they burn with a love of glory to be acquired by valor and address. So soon as the child can grasp the bow and arrow, they are in his hand; and, as there is joy in the wigwam at his birth, and his first cutting of a tooth, so a festival is kept for his earliest success in the chase. The Indian young man is educated in the school of nature. The influences by which he is surrounded kindle within him the passion for war: as he grows up, he in his turn begins the war-song, of which the echoes never die away on the boundless plains of the West; he travels the war-path in search of an encounter with an enemy, that he too, at the great war-dance and feast of his band, may boast of his exploits; may enumerate his gallant deeds by the envied feathers of the war eagle that decorate his hair; and keep the record of his wounds by shining marks of vermilion on his skin.

The savages are proud of idleness. At home they do little but cross their arms and sit listlessly, or engage in games of chance, or meet in council, or sing and eat and play and sleep. The greatest toils of the men were to perfect the palisades of the forts; to repair their cabins; to manufacture a boat out of a tree by the use of fire and a stone hatchet; to get ready instruments of war or the chase; and to adorn their persons. Woman is the laborer. The food that is raised from the earth is the fruit of her industry. With no instrument but a mattock of wood or flint-stone, a shell, or a shoulder-blade of the buffalo, she plants the maize and the beans. She drives the blackbirds from the cornfield, breaks the weeds, and, in due season, gathers the harvest. She pounds the parched corn,

dries the buffalo meat, and prepares for winter the store of wild fruits; she brings home the game which her husband has killed; she carries the wood, and draws the water, and spreads the repast. If the chief constructs the keel of the canoe, it is woman who stitches the bark with split ligaments of the pine root, and sears the seams with resinous gum. If the men prepare the poles for the wigwam, it is woman who builds it, and, in times of journeyings, transports it on her shoulders.

The red men east of the Mississippi had no calendar of their own; their languages have no word for *year*, and they reckoned time by the return of snow or the springing of the flowers; their months were named from that which the earth produces in them; and their almanac is kept by the birds, whose flight announces the progress of the seasons. The brute creation gave them warning of the coming storm; the motion of the sun marked the hour of the day; and the distinctions of time were noted, not in numbers, but in words that breathe the grace of nature.

The aboriginal tribes of the United States depended for food on the chase, fisheries, and agriculture. They kept no herds; they never were shepherds. The bison is difficult to tame, and the use of its milk, of which its female yields little, was unknown. The moose, the bear, the deer, and at the West the buffalo, besides smaller game and fowl, were pursued with arrows tipped with hartshorn, or eagles' claws, or pointed stones. With nets and spears fish were taken, and were cured by smoke. Wild fruits and abundant berries were a resource in their season; and troops of girls, with baskets of bark, would gather the native strawberry. But all the tribes south of the St. Lawrence, except remote ones on the north-east and the north-west, were at once hunters and tillers of the ground. Wheat or rye would have been a useless gift to the Indian, who had neither plough nor sickle. The maize springs luxuriantly from a warm, new field, and in the rich soil, with little aid from culture, outstrips the weeds; bears, not thirty, not fifty, but a thousand-fold; if once dry, is hurt neither by heat nor frost; may be preserved in a pit or a cave for years, aye, and for centuries; is gathered from the field by the hand, without knife or reap-

ing-hook; and becomes nutritious food by a simple roasting before a fire. A little of its parched meal, with water from the brook, was often a dinner and supper; and the warrior, with a small supply of it in a basket at his back, or in a leathern girdle, and with his bow and arrows, is ready for travel at a moment's warning. Tobacco was not forgotten; and the cultivation of the bean, and the trailing plant which we have learned of them to call the squash, completed their husbandry. They seem not to have made much use of salt, but they knew how to obtain it by evaporation.

During the mild season there may have been little suffering. But thrift was wanting; the stores collected by the industry of the women were squandered in festivities. The hospitality of the Indian has rarely been questioned. He will take his rest abroad, that he may give up his own skin or mat of sedge to his guest. The stranger enters his cabin, by day or by night, without asking leave, and is entertained as freely as a thrush or a blackbird that regales himself on the luxuries of the fruitful grove. Nor is the traveller questioned as to the purpose of his visit; he chooses his time to deliver his message. Festivals, too, were common. But what could be more miserable than the tribes of the North and North-west, in the depth of winter, suffering from an annual famine; driven by the intense cold to sit indolently in the smoke round the fire in the cabin, and fast for days together?

Famine gives a terrible energy to the brutal part of our nature. A shipwreck will make cannibals of civilized men; a retreating army abandons its wounded. The hunting tribes had the affections of men, but among them extremity of want produced like results. On the journey through the wilderness, if provisions failed, the feeble were left behind, or their life was shortened by a blow.

For diseases natural remedies were prescribed. Sometimes a vapor bath was prepared in a tent covered with skins, and warmed by means of hot stones; decoctions of bark, or roots, or herbs, were used; but those who lingered with hopeless illness, or were helpless from age, were sometimes neglected, and sometimes put to death.

The clothing of the natives was, in summer, but a piece of

skin, like an apron round the waist; in winter, a bear-skin, or, more commonly, robes made of the skins of the fox and the beaver. Their feet were protected by soft moccasons, and to these were bound the broad snow-shoes, on which, though cumbersome to the novice, the practiced hunter could leap like the roe. Of the women, head, arms, and legs were uncovered; a mat or a skin, neatly prepared, tied over the shoulders and fastened to the waist by a girdle, extended from the neck to the knees. They glittered with tufts of elk-hair, dyed in scarlet, and strings of shells were their pearls and diamonds. The summer garments, of the skins of the moose and deer, were painted of many colors, and the fairest feathers of the turkey, fastened by threads made from wild hemp and nettle, were curiously wrought into mantles. The claws of the grizzly bear formed a proud collar for a war chief; a piece of an enemy's scalp, with a tuft of long hair, painted red, glittered on the stem of his war-pipe; the wing of a red bird, or the beak and plumage of a raven, decorated his locks; the skin of a rattlesnake was worn round the arm of their chiefs; the skin of the polecat, bound round the leg, was their order of the garter, emblem of noble daring. A warrior's dress was often a history of his deeds. His skin was tattooed with figures of animals, of flowers, of leaves, and painted with shining colors.

Some had the nose tipped with blue, the eyebrows, eyes, and cheeks tinged with black, and the rest of the face red; others had black, red, and blue stripes drawn from the ears to the mouth; others had a broad, black band, like a ribbon, extending from ear to ear across the eyes, with smaller bands on the cheeks. When they made visits, and when they assembled in council, they painted themselves brilliantly, delighting especially in vermilion.

CHAPTER VII.

POLITY AND RELIGION OF THE RED MEN.

In the tribes with which the early colonists came in contact there was not only no written law, there was no formalized traditionary expression of law. Authority over them rested on opinion, of which the motives were never embodied in words, and which gained validity only through unquestioned usage. Their forms of government grew out of their instincts and their wants, and were everywhere nearly the same. Without a distinct settlement of succession in the magistracy by inheritance or election, the selection was made harmoniously through the preponderating influence of personal qualities.

The wild man hates restraint, and loves to do what is right in his own eyes. "The Illinois," writes Marest, "are absolute masters of themselves, subject to no law." The Delawares, it was said, "are, in general, wholly unacquainted with civil laws and proceedings, nor have any kind of notion of civil judicatures, of persons being arraigned and tried, condemned or acquitted." Strings of wampum did the office of money among them, and had a fixed value like coin among white men. Exchanges were often but a reciprocity of gifts; but they had commerce and debts, though arrests and imprisonments, lawyers and sheriffs, were unknown. Each man was his own protector; and, as there was no public justice, each man became his own avenger. In case of death by violence, the departed shade could not rest till appeased by a retaliation. His kindred would "go a thousand miles, for the purpose of revenge, over hills and mountains; through cane-swamps, full of briers; over broad lakes, rapid rivers, and deep creeks; and all the way endangered by poisonous snakes, exposed to the extremities of

heat and cold, to hunger and thirst." Blood having once been shed, the rule of reciprocity involved family in the mortal strife against family, tribe against tribe, often continuing from generation to generation. Yet mercy could make itself heard; and peace might be restored by atoning presents, if they were enough to cover up the graves of the dead.

Notwithstanding the uniform aspect of savage life, there was among them some distribution of pursuits. There seems reason to believe that persons who had singular skill in shaping the implements of which the Indians knew the use, employed themselves specially in their manufacture. Flint-stone hammers were found in the region near Lake Superior; but the miners had no tool with which they could divide pure copper, nor had they learned to melt it, nor did they know how to extract the metal from the ore. They could only scale its thin leaves, and, after folding them together, give them consistency by the blows of the hammer. They remained in the condition of man before the discovery of metals. Copper was prized as an ornament, and, with the mica of North Carolina, has been found in mounds alike at the south and the north of the Mississippi valley.

Among the red men the ties of relationship were widely extended. Undivided families had a common emblem, which designated all their members as effectually as with us the name. In the choice of a wife there were interdicted degrees of consanguinity, and marriage between dwellers in the same cabin was forbidden. They held the bonds of brotherhood so dear that a brother commonly paid the debt of a deceased brother, and assumed his revenge and his perils. There were no beggars among them, no fatherless children unprovided for. Those who housed together, hunted together, roamed together, fought together, constituted a family. Danger from neighbors led to alliances and confederacies, just as pride, which is a pervading element in Indian character, led to subdivision. Of affinity, as proved by a common language, the Algonkin, the Iroquois, the Dakota, the Mobilian, each was alike unmindful. No one of them had a name embracing all its branches.

As the tribe was but a union of families, the head of the family was its natural chief. The descent through the female

line was the rule as seen in Virginia, among the Five Nations, the Creeks, and the Natchez. The colleague of Canonicus, the Narragansett, was his nephew. The hereditary right was modified by opinion, which could crowd a civil chief into retirement, and select his successor. The organization of the savage communities was as with us at a spontaneous public meeting, where opinion in advance designates the principal actors; or, as at the death of the head of a large family, opinion within the family selects the best fitted of its surviving members to settle its affairs. Doubtless the succession appeared sometimes to depend on the will of the surviving matron; sometimes to have been consequent on birth; sometimes to have been the result of the free election of the wild democracy, or of its silent preferences. The general approval was its primitive and essential condition, though there have been chiefs who could not tell when, where, or how they obtained the sway.

The humiliating subordination of one will to another was everywhere unknown. The Indian chief had no crown, or sceptre, or guards; no outward symbols of supremacy, or means of enforcing his decrees. The bounds of his authority floated with the current of thought in the tribe; he was not so much obeyed as followed with spontaneous alacrity, and, therefore, the extent of his power depended on his personal capacity.

Each village governed itself seemingly as if independent, and each after the same analogies, without variety. If the observer had regard to the head chief, the government was monarchical: but as, of measures that concerned all, "they would not conclude aught unto which the people were averse," it might be described as a democracy. In council, the people were guided by the eloquent, were emulous of the brave; and this recognised influence appeared to constitute an aristocracy. The governments of the aborigines scarcely differed from each other, except as accident gave a predominance to one of these three elements. Everywhere there was the same distribution into families, and the same order in each separate town. The affairs relating to the whole nation were transacted in general council, and with such equality and such zeal for the common good that, while any one might dissent with impunity, the voice of the tribe would yet be unanimous.

Their delight was in assembling together and listening to messengers from abroad. Seated in a semicircle on the ground, in double or triple rows, with the knees almost meeting the face; the painted and tattooed chiefs adorned with skins and plumes, the beaks of the red-bird or the claws of the bear; each listener perhaps with a pipe in his mouth, and preserving deep silence—they would give solemn attention to the speaker, who, with great action and energy of language, delivered his message. Decorum was never broken; there were never two speakers struggling to anticipate each other; they did not express their spleen by blows; the debate was never disturbed by an uproar; questions of order were unknown.

The record of their treaties was kept by strings of wampum. When the envoys of nations met in solemn council, gift replied to gift, and belt to belt; by these the memory of the speaker was refreshed; or he would hold in his hand a bundle of little sticks, and for each of them deliver a message. Each tribe had its heralds or envoys, selected with reference only to their personal merit, and because they could speak well; and often an orator, without the aid of rank as a chief, swayed a confederacy by the brilliancy of his eloquence. That the words of friendship might be transmitted safely through the wilderness, the red men revered the peace-pipe. The person that travelled with it could disarm the young warrior as by a spell, and secure a welcome. Each village had its calumet, which was adorned by the chief with eagles' feathers, and consecrated in the general assembly of the nation. The envoys desiring peace or an alliance would come within a short distance of the town, and, uttering a cry, seat themselves on the ground. The great chief, bearing the peace-pipe of his tribe, with its mouth pointing to the skies, goes forth to meet them, accompanied by a long procession of his clansmen, chanting the hymn of peace. The strangers rise to receive them, singing a song, to put away all wars and to bury all revenge. As they meet, each party smokes the pipe of the other, and peace is ratified. The strangers are then conducted to the village; the herald goes out into the street that divides the wigwams, and makes repeated proclamation that the guests are friends; and the glory of the tribe is ad-

vanced by the profusion of bear's meat, and flesh of dogs, and hominy, at the banquets in their honor.

But while councils were the highest enjoyment, war was the only avenue to glory. In warfare against man, they gained an honorable and distinguishing name. Hence to ask an Indian his name was an offence; it implied that his deeds, and the titles conferred for them, were unknown.

The war-chief was never appointed on account of birth. A war-party was often but a band of volunteers, enlisted for a special expedition, and for no more. Any one who, on chanting the war-song, could obtain volunteer followers, became a war-chief.

Solemn fasts and religious rites precede the departure of the warriors; the war-dance must be danced, and the war-song sung. They express in their melodies a contempt of death, a passion for glory; and the chief boasts that "the spirits on high shall repeat his name." A belt painted red, or a bundle of bloody sticks, sent to the enemy, is a defiance.

The wars of the red men were terrible, not from their numbers; for, on any one expedition, they rarely exceeded forty men: the parties of six or seven were the most to be dreaded. They follow the trail of the hostile braves, to kill them when they sleep; or they lie in ambush near a village, to dash on a single foeman, or, it may be, a woman and her children; and, with three strokes to each, the scalps of the victims being suddenly taken off, the brave flies back with his companions, to hang the trophies in his cabin, to go from village to village in triumphant procession, to hear orators recount his deeds to the elders and the chief people, and, by the number of scalps taken with his own hand, to gain high titles of honor. War-parties of but two or three were not uncommon. Clad in skins, with a supply of red paint, a bow and quiver full of arrows, they would roam through the forest as a bark over the ocean; for days and weeks they would hang on the skirts of their enemy, waiting the moment for striking a blow. From the heart of the Five Nations, two young warriors would go through the glades of Pennsylvania, the valleys of western Virginia, and steal within the mountain fastnesses of the Cherokees. There they would hide themselves in the clefts

of rocks till, after taking scalps enough to astonish their village, they would bound over the ledges for home.

The Indian compelled his captives to run the gauntlet through the children and women of his tribe. To inflict blows that cannot be returned was esteemed the entire humiliation of the enemy; it was, moreover, a trial of courage and patience; those who showed fortitude were applauded; the coward became an object of scorn.

Suppliants from a defeated nation were often incorporated into the victorious tribe. The Creek confederacy was recruited from friends and foes; the Five Nations welcomed defeated Hurons. Sometimes a captive was adopted in place of a fallen warrior. In that event, the children and the wife whom he left at home were to be blotted from his memory: he becomes the departed chieftain, brought back from the dwelling-place of shadows, and he is bound by the same relations of consanguinity, and the same restraints in regard to marriage.

More commonly, it was the captive's lot to endure torments and death, in the forms which the Jesuit Brebeuf has described. On the way to the cabins of his victors, his hands were crushed between stones, his fingers torn off or mutilated, the joints of his arms scorched and gashed, while he himself preserved tranquillity, and sang the songs of his nation. Arriving at the homes of his conquerors, all the cabins regaled him. At one village after another, festivals were given in his name, at which he was obliged to sing. The old chief, who might have adopted him in place of a fallen nephew, chose rather to gratify revenge, and pronounced the doom of death. "That is well," was his reply. The sister of the fallen warrior, into whose place he might have been received, still treated him with tenderness as a brother, offering him food, and serving him with interest and regard; her father caressed him as though he had become his kinsman, handed him a pipe, and wiped the thick drops of sweat from his face. His last entertainment, made at the charge of the bereaved chief, began at noon. To the crowd of his guests he declared: "My brothers, I am going to die; make merry around me with good heart: I am a man; I fear neither death nor your torments;" and he sang aloud. The feast being ended, he was conducted to the cabin of blood

They placed him on a mat, and bound his hands; he rose, and danced round the cabin, chanting his death-song. At eight in the evening, eleven fires which had been kindled were hedged in by files of spectators. The young men selected to be the actors were exhorted to do well, for their deeds would be grateful to Areskoui, the powerful war-god. A war-chief stripped the prisoner, and showed him naked to the people. Then began excruciating torments, which lasted till after sunrise, when the wretched victim, bruised, gashed, mutilated, half-roasted, and scalped, was carried out of the village and hacked in pieces. A festival, at which some of his flesh was eaten, completed the sacrifice.

The most wonderful proof of the aptitude of the red men for civil organization is found in the perfection to which they carried the federal form of government, excelling the Hellenic councils and leagues in permanency, central vigor, and the singleness of a true union. In the south there was the federal republic of the Creeks; but that of the Five Nations stood first for the skill with which its several parts were consolidated, and by its influence on events of importance to the world.

The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, dwelling near the river and the lakes that retain their names, formed a confederacy of equal tribes. Their territory, or, as they called it, their "long house," opened one of its doors on the Hudson, the other on the Niagara, including under their immediate dominion more than one half of the state of New York. They were proud of their country as superior to any other part of America. The soil was exuberantly fertile, and, moreover, from their geographical position, they could start in their canoes from the head-waters of the Hudson, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, or from branches of the Mississippi, as well as of the St. Lawrence, to make their war-paths along the lines where the channels of a national commerce have now been constructed. When Hudson, John Smith, and Champlain were at the same time in America, their superior prowess was known. They claimed some supremacy in northern New England as far as the Kennebec, and to the south as far as New Haven; and were acknowledged as absolute lords over the conquered Lenape. Half Long Island paid them

tribute; Upper Canada was their hunting-field by right of war; they exterminated or reduced the Eries and the Conestogas, both tribes of their own family, the one dwelling to the south of Lake Erie, the other on the banks of the Susquehanna; they triumphantly invaded the tribes of the West as far as Illinois; their warriors reached Kentucky and western Virginia.

The Five Nations were convinced that among them man was born free, that no power on earth had any right to infringe on his liberty, and that nothing could make him amends for its loss. There was no slavery and no favored caste. The villagers dwelt in fixed homes, surrounded by fields of beans and maize, and changing their abode only as the land was worn out. From the Jesuit Lafitau, the earliest writer on their polity, we learn that each village governed itself, and, like a New England town or a Saxon hundred, constituted a little democracy. In each there was the same distribution of families, the same laws of police, the same order; he who had seen one had seen all. When a question arose which interested the whole nation, the deputies of each village met in a common council, and by deliberations, conducted with equality and public spirit, arrived at an agreement. Their safety as a state depended on union, which for this reason nothing could break.

Each village was divided into the three families of the Wolf, of the Bear, and of the Turtle. More divisions were known in later days. Each family had its chiefs, its assistant chiefs, its ancients, its warriors. These, when they met together, formed the representation of the separate state.

Besides their private names, the chiefs had names describing their dignity and jurisdiction. The highest was named chief of the chiefs, or president; the second represented the family, which thus, as it were, was collectively present in his person, so that when he spoke it might be remarked: "The Wolf has said;" or "the Bear has said;" or "the Turtle has said." The third class of persons of power were called the elders, or ancients. This name did not always correspond to their age, but was chosen to conciliate respect and veneration. "They might be called senators or citizens." Their number was not fixed. Every one had a right to enter the council and give his vote if he was of mature age, prudence, and knowledge,

and each knew how to make himself esteemed according to his ability.

The chiefs appeared to be equal, and were careful not to attract to themselves the direction of affairs; still, some prominence prevailed; perhaps resting on the cabin that had founded the village; or on the superior number of a tribe; or, in a word, on the man who was most respected for his ability. "This," says Lafitau, "I have never been able to decide."

The dignity of the chief is perpetual and hereditary in his cabin, descending to the child of aunts, sisters, or nieces on the maternal side. "When the tree falls it must be raised again." The selection of a successor had no regard to primogeniture; the choice was of him who by his good qualities was best able to sustain the rank. To prevent his too great authority, he had assistants at his side.

The warriors were the young who were able to bear arms. The chiefs of the tribes, if fit to command, were ordinarily at their head; but the braves who had done good service were recognised as war chiefs.

The leading warrior was selected by the general confidence; merit alone could obtain the preferment, and his power was as permanent as the esteem of the tribe. As their brave men went forth to war, for want of martial instruments, they were cheered by the far-reaching voice of their leader.

Councils were assembled by the order of the chiefs, and were held in their cabins unless there was a public hall. For deliberation the sessions were secret; no vote was taken; no minority was made known; the debate was continued till the mind of the assembly became apparent, and its decision was then accepted by acclamation. The open sessions were for the publication of that which had been resolved upon, and which was sure to meet with the approbation of the multitude.

The federal council fire was lighted in the land of the Onondagas as the central nation. It does not appear that there was one supreme chief for the collective Five Nations; but each of them was represented by its chiefs in the general congress, of which the functions extended to all questions of war and peace, and of treaties and intercourse with foreign powers. These were the institutions which led the Five Nations to deem

themselves supreme among mankind; while other red men and the colonies looked upon them as the fiercest and most formidable people in North America.

The dweller in the wilderness was conscious of his dependence; he felt the existence of relations with the objects by which he was surrounded, and with more things than were seen. Yet his conceptions of power were so blended with nature that to many travellers he seemed not to have any religion. "As to the knowledge of God," says Joutel of the Indians of the South-west, "it did not seem to us that they had any definite notion about it. We found upon our route some who, as far as we could judge, believed that there is something which is exalted above all; but they have neither temples, nor ceremonies, nor prayers, marking a divine worship. That they have no religion can be said of all whom we saw." "The northern nations," writes Le Caron, "recognise no divinity from motives of religion." Le Jeune affirms: "There is among them very little superstition; they think only of living and of revenge; they are not attached to the worship of any divinity." And yet every hidden agency was personified. Unaccustomed to abstract thought or free inquiry or any form of skepticism, the red man had obtained no conception of unity in the totality of being; but wherever there was motion, or action, and, in a special manner, wherever there appeared singular excellence or mystery, there to him was the presence of a power out of the reach of the senses. It resided in the flint that gives forth fire; in the mountain cliff; in the grotto; in each little grass; in the sun, in the moon, in the reddening of the morning sky; in the ocean; in the crag that overhangs the river; in the waterfall. He found it in himself when he felt his pulse throb, his heart beat, his eyelids weigh down in sleep. To the savage, divinity, broken as it were into an infinite number of fragments, was present in each separate place and each individual being. To secure the goodwill of the genius of the place, they threw tobacco into the fire, on the lake, on the rapids, into rocky crevices, or on the war-path. Hennepin found a beaver robe hung on an oak, as an oblation to the spirit that dwells in the falls of St. Anthony. The guides of Joutel in the South-west, having killed a buffalo,

offered slices of the meat to the unknown spirit of that wilderness. As they passed the Ohio, the favor of the stream was sought by gifts of tobacco and dried meat; and worship was paid to the rock just above the Missouri. Yet faith in the Great Spirit, when once presented, so infused itself into the heart of remotest tribes, that it often came to be considered as a portion of their original faith.

The savage was conscious of inexplicable relations with others than himself, of which he could not solve the origin or analyze the nature. His gods were not the offspring of terror; every part of nature seemed to him instinct with power. "The Illinois," writes the Jesuit Marest, "adore a sort of genius, which they call *manitou;* to them it is a master of life, the spirit that rules all things. A bird, a buffalo, a bear, a feather, a skin—that is their manitou."

In drawing the distinction between himself and the rest of the world, the red man included with himself all his fellow-men. For him there was man, and the world apart from man; therefore no tribe worshipped its prophets, or deified its heroes; no Indian adored his fellow-man, or paid homage to the dead. He turns from himself to the inferior world, which he believes in like manner to be animated by spirits. The bird, that mysteriously cleaves the air; the fish, that hides itself in the lake; the beasts of the forest, whose unerring instincts seem like revelations—these enshrine the deity whom he adores. On the Ohio, a medicine man, who venerated the buffalo as his manitou, confessed to Mermet that he did not worship the buffalo, but the invisible spirit which is the type of all buffaloes. "Is there such a manitou to the bear?" "Yes." "To man?" "Nothing more certain; man is superior to all." "Why do you not, then, invoke the manitou of man?" And the juggler knew not what to answer.

By fasting in solitude, the Ojibwa—and a similar probation was known to other tribes—seeks a special genius to be his protection. The fast endures till, excited by thirst, watchfulness, and hunger, he beholds a vision, and he knows it to be his guardian. It may assume a fantastic form, as of a skin or a feather, a smooth pebble or a shell; but the fetich, when obtained and carried by the warrior in his pouch, is not the guardian itself, but only its representative token.

The piety of the savage was not merely a sentiment of passive resignation: he strove to propitiate the unknown powers, to avert their wrath, to secure their favor. If, at first, no traces of religious feeling were discerned, closer observation showed that even the roving tribes of the North had some kind of sacrifice and of prayer. On their expeditions they kept no watch during the night, but invoked their fetiches to be their sentinels. If the harvest was abundant, if the chase was successful, they saw in their success the influence of a manitou; and they would ascribe even an ordinary accident to the wrath of the god. "O manitou!" exclaimed an Indian, at daybreak, with his family about him, lamenting the loss of a child, "thou art angry with me; turn thine anger from me, and spare the rest of my children." Canonicus, the great sachem of the Narragansetts, when bent with age, having buried his son, "burned his own dwelling, and all his goods in it, in part as a humble expiation to the god who, as they believe, had taken his sonne from him." The idea that sin should be atoned for was so diffused among the savages that Le Clercq believed some of the apostles must have reached the American continent.

The evils that are in the world were ascribed to spirits as the dreaded authors of woe. The demon of war was to be propitiated by acts of cruelty. The Iroquois, when Jogues was among them, sacrificed an Algonkin woman in honor of Areskoui, their war-god, exclaiming: "Areskoui, to thee we burn this victim; feast on her flesh, and grant us new victories;" and a part of her flesh was eaten as a religious rite.

Nor did the wild man seek to win by gifts alone the favor of the higher natures, which the savage divined but could not fathom; he made a sacrifice of his pleasures and chastened his passions. To secure success in the chase by appeasing the tutelary spirits of the animals to be pursued, severe fasts were kept; and happy was he to whom the game appeared in his dreams, for it was a sure augury of abundant returns. The warrior, preparing for an expedition, often sought favor in battle by continued penance. The security of female captives was, in part, the consequence of the vows of chastity, by which he was bound till after his return. Detesting restraint, he was

yet perpetually imposing upon himself extreme hardships, that by suffering and self-denial he might atone for his offences.

The gifts to the deities were made by the chiefs, or by any one of the tribe for himself. In this sense each Indian was his own priest; the right of offering sacrifices was not reserved to a class; any one could do it for himself, whether the sacrifice consisted in oblations or acts of self-denial. The red man put faith in auguries; but he could for himself cast the lots, and he believed that nature would obey the decision of chance.

For healing diseases, medicine men sprung up in every part of the wilderness; and he who could inspire confidence might assume the office. He studied the healing properties of the vegetable world, and made good use of his knowledge; but he would try to excite awe by coming forth from a heated, pent-up lodge in all the convulsions of enthusiasm. He boasted of his power over the elements. He could foretell a drought, or bring rain, or guide the lightning; he could conjure the fish to suffer themselves to be caught, the beaver to show itself above the water, the moose to forget its shyness and courage. Were he to assert that the manitou orders the sick man to wallow naked in the snow, or to scorch himself with fire, the behest would be obeyed. But did not a like illusion long linger in Europe? The English moralist Johnson was carried in his infancy to Queen Anne to be cured of scrofula by the great medicine of her touch; and near the middle of the eighteenth century the king of Portugal, for the restoration of his health, gathered relics from churches and cloisters, and spent two hundred thousand dollars for more.

It could not be perceived that the savages had any set holidays; only in times of triumph, at burials, at harvests, the nation assembled for solemn rites. Each Choctaw town had a house in which the bones of the dead were deposited for a season previous to their final burial. But of the famed cabin of the Natchez, Charlevoix, who entered it, writes: "I saw no ornaments, absolutely nothing, which could make me know that I was in a temple;" and, referring to the minute relations of an altar and a dome, of the bodies of departed chiefs, ranged in a circle within a round temple, he adds: "I saw nothing of all that; if things were so formerly, they must have changed

greatly." Of what had been reported he found nothing but the fire. And Adair confidently insinuates that the Koran does not more widely differ from the Gospels than the romances respecting the Natchez from the truth. No tribe east of the Mississippi had a consecrated spot, or temple, where there was believed to be a nearer communication between this life and that which is unseen.

Dreams are to the wild man an avenue to the invisible world; he reveres them as revelations that must be carried into effect. Capricious visions of a feverish sleep were obeyed by the village or the tribe; the whole nation would contribute from its harvest, its costly furs, its belts of beads, the produce of its chase, rather than fail in their fulfilment. On Lake Superior, the nephew of an Ojibwa woman having dreamed that he saw a French dog, she travelled four hundred leagues in midwinter to obtain it. If the message conveyed through sleep could not be fulfilled, some semblance of fulfilment would be made. But, if the dream should be threatening, the savage would prevent the dawn with prayer; or he would call around him his friends and neighbors, and, with invocations, would fast and wake for many days and nights.

The Indian was unable to conceive of a cessation of life. His faith in immortality was like that of the child, who weeps over the dead body of its mother, and believes that she yet lives. At the bottom of an open grave the melting snows had left a little water. "You have had no compassion for my poor brother:" such was the reproach of an Algonkin; "the air is pleasant and the sun cheering, and yet you do not remove the snow from his grave to warm him a little;" and he knew no contentment till this was done.

The same motive prompted the red man to bury with the warrior his pipe and his manitou, his tomahawk, quiver, and bow ready bent for action, and his most splendid apparel; to place by his side his bowl, and maize, and venison, for the long journey to the country of his ancestors. Festivals in honor of the dead were frequent, when food was given to the flames, that so it might serve to nourish the departed. The traveller would find in the forests a dead body placed upon piles, shrouded in bark, and attired in warmest furs. If a mother

lost her babe, she would in like manner cover it with bark, and wrap it in beaver-skins; at the burial-place, she would put by its side its cradle, its beads, and its rattles; and, as a last service of maternal love, would draw milk from her breast, and burn it in the fire, that her infant might still find nourishment on its solitary journey to the land of shades. One of the earliest missionaries attests that the babe which should die within the first or second month after its birth would be buried along the pathway, that so its spirit might steal into the bosom of some passing matron, and be born again under happier auspices.

The South-west was the gentle region round which traditions gathered. There was the paradise where beans and maize grow spontaneously; there dwelt the shades of the forefathers of the red men.

The savage believed that to every man there is an appointed time to die; to anticipate that period by suicide was detested as the meanest cowardice. For the dead he abounds in lamentations, mingling them with words of comfort to the living: to him, death is the king of terrors. He never names the name of the departed; to do so is an offence justifying revenge. To speak generally of brothers to one who has lost her own would be an injury, for it would make her weep because her brothers are no more; and to orphans the missionary could not discourse of the Father of man without kindling indignation. And yet they summon energy to announce their own approaching death with tranquillity. While yet alive, the dying chief sometimes arrayed himself in the garments in which he was to be buried, and, giving a farewell festival, calmly chanted his last song, or made a last harangue, glorying in the remembrance of his deeds, and commending to his friends the care of those whom he loved; and, when he had given up the ghost, he was placed by his wigwam in a sitting posture, as if to show that though this life was spent, the principle of being was not gone; and in that posture he was buried. The narrow house, within which the warrior sat, was often hedged round with a light palisade. He that should despoil the dead was accursed.

The Indian was, moreover, persuaded that each individual animal possesses the mysterious, indestructible principle of life:

there is not a breathing thing but has its shade, which never can perish. Regarding himself, in comparison with other animals, but as the first among co-ordinate existences, he respects the brute creation, and assigns to it, as to himself, a perpetuity of being. "The ancients of these lands" believed that the warrior, when released from life, renews the passions and activity of this world; is seated once more among his friends; shares again the joyous feast; walks through shadowy forests, that are alive with the spirits of birds; and there,

By midnight moons, o'er moistening dews,
In vestments for the chase arrayed,
The hunter still the deer pursues,
The hunter and the deer a shade.

The idea of retribution, as far as it has found its way among them, was derived from Europeans. The future life was to the Indian, like the present, a free gift; some, it was indeed believed, from feebleness of age, did not reach the paradise of the departed; but no red man was so proud as to believe that its portals were opened to him by his own good deeds.

Their notion of immortality was a faith in the continuance of life; they did not expect a general resurrection; nor could they be induced to believe that the body will be raised up. Yet no nations paid greater regard to the remains of their ancestors. Everywhere among the Choctaws and the Wyandots, the Cherokees and Algonkins, they were carefully wrapped in furs, and preserved with affectionate veneration. Once every few years the Hurons collected from scattered cemeteries the bones of their dead, cleansed them from every remainder of flesh, and deposited them in one common grave.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF THE RED MEN.

A DEEP interest belongs to the question of the natural relation of the aborigines of America to the race before whom they have retired. "We are men," said the Illinois to Marquette. After illustrating the weaknesses of the Wyandots, Brebeuf adds: "They are men." The natives of America were men and women of like endowments with their more cultivated conquerors; they had the same affections, and the same powers; were chilled with an ague, and they burned with a fever. We may call them savage, just as we call fruits wild; natural law governed them. They revered unseen powers; they had nuptial ties; they were careful of their dead: their religion, their marriages, and their burials showed them possessed of the habits of humanity, and bound by a federative compact to the race. They had not risen to the conceptions of a spiritual religion; but, as between the French and the natives, the latter—such is the assertion of St. Mary of the Incarnation—had the greater tendency to devotion. Under the instructions of the Jesuits, they learned to swing censers and to chant aves. Gathering round Eliot, in Massachusetts, the red choir sang the psalms of David, in Indian, "to one of the ordinary English tunes, melodiously;" and, in the school of Brainerd, thirty Lenape boys could answer all the questions in the Westminster Assembly's Catechism. There were examples among them of men who, under the guidance of missionaries, became anxious for their salvation, having faith enough for despair, if not for conversion; warriors submitted to the penance imposed by the Roman church; and the sanctity of the Mohawk Geneveva is celebrated in the early histories of New France. They recog-

nised the connection between the principles of Christian morals and their own faint intuitions; and, even in the divine unity, they seemed to find not so much a novelty as a reminiscence. Their tales of their age, or of the number of the warriors in their clans, are little to be relied on; and yet everywhere they counted like Leibnitz and Laplace, and for a common reason, began to repeat at ten. They could not dance like those trained to movements of grace; they could not sketch light ornaments with the perfection of Raphael; yet, under every sky, they delighted in a rhythmic repetition of forms and sounds, would dance in cadence to wild melodies, and knew how to tattoo their skins with harmonious arabesques. We call them cruel; yet they never invented the thumb-screw, or the boot, or the rack, or broke on the wheel, or exiled bands of their nations for opinion's sake; and never protected the monopoly of a medicine man by the gallows, or the block, or by fire. There is not a quality belonging to the white man which did not belong to the American savage; there is not among the aborigines a rule of language, a custom, or an institution, which, when considered in its principle, has not a counterpart among their conquerors. The unity of the human race is established by the exact correspondence between their respective powers; the Indian has not one more, has not one less, than the white man; the map of the faculties is for both identical.

When, from the general characteristics of humanity, we come to the comparison of powers, the existence of degrees immediately appears. The red man has aptitude at imitation rather than invention; he learns easily; his natural logic is correct and discriminating, and he seizes on the nicest distinctions in comparing objects; but he is deficient in the power of imagination and abstraction. Equalling the white man in the sagacity of the senses and in judgments resting on them, he was inferior in reason and in ethics. Nor was this inferiority attached to the individual: it was connected with organization, and was the characteristic of the race.

Benevolence everywhere in our land exerted itself to ameliorate the condition of the Indian; above all, to educate the young. Jesuit, Franciscan, and Puritan, the church of England, the Moravian, the benevolent founders of schools,

academies, and colleges—all have endeavored to teach new habits to the rising generation among the Indians; and the results, in every instance, varying in the personal influence exerted by the missionary, have varied in little else. Woman, too, with gentleness and the winning enthusiasm of self-sacrificing benevolence, attempted their instruction, and attempted it in vain. St. Mary of the Incarnation succeeded as little as Jonathan Edwards or Brainerd. The Jesuit Stephen de Carheil, revered for his genius as well as for his zeal, was for more than sixty years, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a missionary among the Huron-Iroquois tribes; he spoke their dialects with as much facility and elegance as though they had been his mother tongue; yet the fruits of his diligence were inconsiderable. Neither John Eliot nor Roger Williams was able to change essentially the mind and habits of the New England tribes. The Quakers came among the Delawares in the spirit of peace and brotherly love, and with sincerest wishes to benefit them; but the Quakers succeeded no better than the Puritans, not nearly so well as the Jesuits. Brainerd writes: "They are unspeakably indolent and slothful; they discover little gratitude; they seem to have no sentiments of generosity, benevolence, or goodness." The Moravian Loskiel could not transform their nature; and, like other tribes, the fragments of the Delawares have migrated to the West. The condition of little Indian communities, enclosed within European settlements, was hardly cheering to the philanthropist. In New Hampshire and elsewhere, schools for Indian children were established; but, as they became fledged, they all escaped, refusing to be caged. Harvard college enrolls the name of an Algonkin among its pupils; but the college parchment could not close the gulf between the Indian character of those days and the Anglo-American. No tribe could be trained to habits of regular industry. Their hatred of habitual labor spoiled all. The red men were characterized by a moral inflexibility, a rigidity of attachment to their hereditary customs and manners. The birds and the brooks, as they chime forth their unwearied canticles, chime them ever to the same ancient melodies, and the Indian child, as it grew up, displayed a like propensity to the habits of its ancestors.

This determinateness of moral character was marked in the organization of the American savage. He had little flexibility of features or transparency of skin; and, therefore, if he depicted his passions, it was by strong contortions, or the kindling of the eye, that seemed ready to burst from its socket. The movement of his blood did not visibly reveal the movement of his affections. With rare exceptions, he did not blush.

This effect was heightened by a uniformity of intellectual culture and activity; and where marriage, interdicted indeed between members of the same family badge, was yet usually limited to people of the same tribe, the purity of the race increased the uniformity of organization.

Nature in the wilderness is true to her type, and deformity was almost unknown. How rare was it to find the red man squint-eyed, or with a diseased spine, halt or blind, or with any deficiency or excess in the organs! It is not merely that among barbarians the feeble and the misshaped perish from neglect; the most refined nation is most liable to produce varieties; when the habits of uncivilized simplicity have been fixed for thousands of years, the hereditary organization is safe against monstrous deviations.

There is the same general resemblance of feature among all the aboriginal inhabitants, from the Terra del Fuego to the St. Lawrence; all have some shade of the same dull vermilion, or cinnamon, or reddish-brown, or copper color, carefully to be distinguished from the olive—the same dark and glossy hair, coarse, and never curling. They have beards, but generally of feeble growth; their eye is elongated, having an orbit inclining to a quadrangular shape; the cheek-bones are prominent; the nose is broad; the jaws project; the lips are large and thick, giving to the mouth an expression of indolent insensibility; the forehead, as compared with Europeans, is narrow. The facial angle of the European is assumed to be eighty-seven; that of the red man, by induction from many admeasurements, is declared to be seventy-five. The mean internal capacity of the skull of the former is eighty-seven cubic inches; of the barbarous tribes of the latter, it is found to be, at least, eighty-two.

And yet the inflexibility of organization is not so absolute

as to forbid hope of essential improvement. The red color of the tribes differs in its tint; and some have been found so fair that the blood could be seen as it mantled to the cheek; the stature and form vary; not only are some nations tall and slender, but in the same nation there are contrasts.

Every Indian of to-day excels his ancestors in skill, in power over nature, and in knowledge; the gun, the knife, and the horse, of themselves, made a revolution in his condition and the current of his ideas; that the wife of the white man is cherished as his equal has been noised about in their huts; the idea of the Great Spirit, who is the master of life, has reached the remotest prairies. How slowly did the condition of the common people of Europe make advances! For how many centuries did letters remain unknown to the peasant of Germany and France! How languidly did civilization pervade the valleys of the Pyrenees! When the Cherokees had been acquainted with Europeans but a century and a half, they had learned the use of the plough and the axe, of herds and flocks, of the printing-press and water-mills. And finally that nation, like the Choctaws, the Creeks, the Ojibwas, the Winnebagoes, and other tribes, have escaped the danger of extermination, and so increased in intelligence, that parents in the Indian Territory are eager for the education of their children, of whom thousands are now at school.

"Whence was America peopled?" was the inquiry that followed its discovery. And, though this continent was peopled long ages before it became known to history, it is yet reasonable to search after traces of connection between its nations and those of the Old World.

To aid this inquiry, there are no monuments. The numerous mounds which arise in the alluvial valley east of the Mississippi have by some been regarded as the works of an earlier and a more cultivated race of men, whose cities have been laid waste, whose language and institutions have been destroyed or driven away; but closer examination and reflection strip this imposing theory of its marvels. Between Illinois and Louisiana there are great numbers of small and larger mounds, some of which have been used as the sites of villages; others have served for the interment of the dead; but there is no ground

to infer that any of them were set apart for sacrificial purposes, and still less that they formed a line of watch-towers. Experienced observers, including among them good geologists, believe that many earthen structures of considerable extent are artificial. But when nature has taken to herself her share in the formation of the symmetrical hillocks, nothing will remain east of the Mississippi (nor west of it north of Texas) to warrant the inference of a higher civilization that has left its old abodes or died away; or of an earlier acquaintance with the arts of the Old World; or of greater skill than existed in the native tribes that were found in possession of the land south-east of the Mississippi. "Among the more ancient works," says a careful observer, who is not disposed to undervalue the significancy of these silent monuments, near which he dwells, and which he has carefully explored, "there is not a single edifice nor any ruins which prove the existence in former ages of a building composed of imperishable materials. No fragment of a column, nor a brick, nor a single hewn stone large enough to have been incorporated into a wall, has been discovered. The only relics which remain to inflame curiosity are composed of earth." Some of the tribes had vessels made of clay; near Natchez, an image was found, but of a substance not harder than clay dried in the sun. These few memorials of other days may indicate revolutions among the barbarous hordes of the Americans themselves; they cannot solve for the inquirer the problem of their origin. Comparative anatomy, as it has questioned the graves, and compared its deductions with the traditions and present customs of the tribes, has not even led to safe inferences respecting the relations of the red nations among themselves; far less has it succeeded in tracing their wanderings from continent to continent.

Neither do the few resemblances that have been discovered between the roots of words in American languages on the one hand, and those of Asia or Europe on the other, afford historical evidence of any connection. The human voice articulates hardly twenty distinct, primitive sounds or letters: would it not be strange, then, were there no accidental resemblances? Of all European languages, the Greek is the most flexible; and it is that which most easily furnishes roots analogous to those

of America. Not one clear coincidence has been traced beyond accident. Hard by Pamlico sound dwelt, and apparently had dwelt for centuries, branches of the Algonkin, the Huron-Iroquois, and the Catawba families. But though these nations were in the same state of civilization, were mingled by wars and captures, by embassies and alliances, yet each was found employing a radically different language of its own. If resemblances cannot be traced between two families that have dwelt side by side apparently for centuries, who will hope to recover the roots of the mother tongue in Siberia or China? The results of comparison have thus far rebuked rather than satisfied curiosity.

It is still more evident that similarity of customs furnishes no basis for satisfactory conclusions. The same kinds of knowledge have been reached independently; the same habits are naturally formed under similar circumstances. The manifest recurrence of artificial peculiarities would prove a connection among nations; but all the usages consequent on the regular wants and infirmities of the human system would be likely of themselves to be repeated; and, as for arts, they only offer new sources for measuring the capacity of human invention in its barbarous or semi-civilized state.

It is chiefly on supposed analogies of customs and of language that the lost tribes of Israel, "who took counsel to go forth into a farther country, where never mankind dwelt," have been discovered, now in the bark cabins of North America, now in the valleys of the Tennessee, and again as the authors of culture on the plains of the Cordilleras. We cannot tell the origin of the Goths and Celts; proud as we are of our lineage, we cannot trace our own descent; and we strive to identify, in the most western part of Asia, the very hills and valleys among which the ancestors of our red men had their dwellings! Humanity has a common character. The ingenious scholar may find analogies in language, customs, institutions, and religion, between the aborigines of America and any nation whatever of the Old World; the pious curiosity of Christendom, and not a peculiar coincidence, has created a special disposition to discover a connection between them and the Hebrews.

The Egyptians used hieroglyphics; so did the Mexicans, and the Pawnees, and the Five Nations. Among the Algonkins now a man is represented by a rude figure of a body, surmounted by the head of the animal which gives a badge to his family; on the Egyptian pictures, men are found designated in the same way. But did North America, therefore, send envoys to the court of Sesostris?

If the Carthaginians rivalled Vasco da Gama, why may they not have anticipated Columbus? And men have seen on rocks in America Phœnician inscriptions and proofs of Phœnician presence; but these disappear before an honest skepticism. Besides, the Carthaginians were historians; and a Latin poet has preserved for us the testimony of Himilco, "that the abyss beyond the Columns of Hercules was to them interminable; that no mariner of theirs had ever guided a keel into that boundless deep."

On a rock by the side of a small New England stream, where even by the aid of the tides small vessels can hardly pass, a rude inscription has been made on a natural block of gray granite. By unwarranted interpolations and bold distortions, in defiance of countless improbabilities, the plastic power of fancy, as it runs away from observation, transformed the rude etching into a Runic monument; a still more recent theory insists on the analogy of its forms with the inscriptions of Fezzan and the Atlas. Calm observers, in the vicinity of the sculptured rock, see nothing in the design beyond the capacity of the red men of New England; and, to Washington, who from his youth was intimately acquainted with the skill and manners of the barbarians, the character of the drawing suggested its Algonkin origin. Scandinavians may have reached the shores of Labrador; the soil of the United States has not one vestige of their presence.

An ingenious writer on the maritime history of the Chinese finds traces of voyages to America in the fifth century, and opens an avenue for Asiatic science to pass into the kingdom of Anahuac. But, if Chinese traders or emigrants came so recently to America, there would be evidence of it in customs and language. Nothing is so indelible as speech: sounds that, in ages of unknown antiquity, were spoken among the nations of

Hindostan, still live with unchanged meaning in the language which we daily utter. The winged word cleaves its way through time, as well as through space. If Chinese came to civilize, and came so recently, the shreds of their civilization would be still clinging to their works and their words.

Nor does the condition of astronomical science in aboriginal America prove a connection with Asia. The red men could not but observe the pole-star; and even their children could give the names and trace the motions of the more brilliant groups of stars, of which the return marks the seasons; but they did not divide the heavens, nor even a belt in the heavens, into constellations. It is a curious coincidence that, among the Algonkins of the Atlantic and of the Mississippi, alike among the Narragansetts and the Illinois, the north star was called the Bear. This accidental agreement with the widely spread usage of the Old World is far more observable than the imaginary resemblance between the signs of the Mexicans for their days and the signs on the zodiac for the month in Thibet. The American nation had no zodiac, and therefore, for the names of its days, could not have borrowed from Central Asia the symbols that marked the path of the sun through the year. Nor had the Mexicans either weeks or lunar months; but, after the manner of barbarous nations, they divided the days in the year into eighteen scores, leaving the few remaining days to be set apart by themselves. This division may have sprung directly from their system of enumeration; it need not have been imported. It is a greater marvel that the indigenous inhabitants of Mexico had a nearly exact knowledge of the length of the year, and, at the end of one hundred and four years, made their intercalation more accurately than the Greeks, the Romans, or the Egyptians. The length of their tropical year was almost identical with the result obtained by the astronomers of the caliph Almamon; but let no one derive this coincidence from intercourse, unless he is prepared to believe that, in the ninth century of our era, there was commerce between Mexico and Bagdad. The agreement favors the belief that Mexico did not learn of Asia; for, at so late a period, intercourse between the continents would have left its indisputable traces. No inference is warranted, except that, in the

cloudless atmosphere of the table-lands of Central America, the sun was seen to run his career as faithfully over the heights of the Cordilleras as over the plains of Mesopotamia.

When to this is added that, alone of mankind, the American nations universally were ignorant of the pastoral state; that they kept neither sheep nor kine; that they knew not the use of the milk of animals for food; that they had neither wax nor oil; that their maize was known to no other continent; that they had no iron—it becomes nearly certain that the imperfect civilization of America is its own.

Yet the original character of American culture does not insulate the American race. It would not be safe to reject the possibility of an early communication between South America and the Polynesian world. Nor can we know what changes time may have wrought on the surface of the globe, what islands may have been submerged, what continents divided. But, without resorting to conjectures or fancies, everywhere around us there are signs of migrations, of which the boundaries cannot be set; and the movement seems to have been toward the east and south.

The number of primitive languages increases near the Gulf of Mexico; and, as if one nation had crowded upon another, in the canebrakes of the state of Louisiana there were more independent languages than are found from the Arkansas to the pole. In like manner, they abounded on the plateau of Mexico, the natural highway of wanderers. On the western shore of America there are more languages than on the east; on the Atlantic coast, as if to indicate that it had never been a thoroughfare, one extended from Cape Fear to the Esquimaux; on the west, between the latitude of forty degrees and the Esquimaux, there were at least four or five. The Californians derived their ancestors from the north; the Aztecs preserve a narrative of their northern origin.

At the north, the continents of Asia and America nearly meet. In the latitude of sixty-five degrees fifty minutes, a line across Behring's straits, from Cape Prince of Wales to Cape Tschowkotskoy, would measure a fraction less than forty-four geographical miles; and three small islands divide the distance.

Within the latitude of fifty-five degrees, the Aleutian isles

stretch from the great promontory of Alaska so far to the west that the last of the archipelago is but three hundred and sixty geographical miles from the east of Kamtschatka; and that distance is so divided by the Mednoi island and the group of Behring that, were boats to pass islet after islet from Kamtschatka to Alaska, the longest navigation in the open sea would not exceed two hundred geographical miles, nor need the mariner at any moment be more than forty leagues distant from land; and a chain of thickly set isles extends from the south of Kamtschatka to Corea. Now, the Micmac on the north-east of our continent would, in his frail boat, venture thirty or forty leagues out at sea: a Micmac savage, then, steering from isle to isle, might in his birch-bark canoe have made the voyage from North-west America to China.

Water, ever a favorite highway, is especially the highway of uncivilized man: to those who have no axes, the thick jungle is impervious; canoes are older than wagons, and ships than chariots; a gulf, a strait, the sea intervening between islands, divide less than the matted forest. Even civilized man emigrates by sea and by rivers, and he ascended two thousand miles above the mouth of the Missouri, while interior tracts in New York and Ohio were still a wilderness. To the uncivilized man, no path is free but the sea, the lake, and the river.

The red Indian and the Mongolian races of men, on the two sides of the Pacific, have a near resemblance. Both are alike strongly and definitely marked by the more capacious palatine fossa, of which the dimensions are so much larger that a careful observer could, out of a heap of skulls, readily separate the Mongolian and American from the Caucasian, but could not distinguish them from each other. Both have the orbit of the eye quadrangular, rather than oval; both, especially the American, have a narrowness of the forehead; the facial angle in both, but especially in the American, is comparatively small; in both, the bones of the nose are flatter and broader than in the Caucasian, and in so equal a degree and with apertures so similar, that, on examining specimens from the two, an observer could not, from this feature, discriminate which of them belonged to the old continent; both, but especially the Americans, are characterized by a prominence of the jaws. The

elongated occiput is common to the American and the Asiatic; and there is to each very nearly the same obliquity of the face. Between the Mongolian of southern Asia and of northern Asia there is a greater difference than between the Mongolian Tâtar and the North American. The Iroquois is more unlike the Peruvian than he is unlike the wanderer on the steppes of Siberia. Physiology has not succeeded in defining the qualities which belong to every well-formed Mongolian, and which never belong to an indigenous American; still less can geographical science draw a boundary line between the races. The Athapascas cannot be distinguished from Algonkin Knisteneaux on the one side, or from Mongolian Esquimaux on the other. The dwellers on the Aleutian isles melt into resemblances with the inhabitants of each continent; and, at points of remotest distance, the difference is still so inconsiderable that Ledyard, whose curiosity filled him with the passion to circumnavigate the globe and cross its continents, as he stood in Siberia with men of the Mongolian race before him and compared them with the Indians who had been his old play-fellows and schoolmates at Dartmouth, writes deliberately that, "universally and circumstantially, they resemble the aborigines of America." On the Connecticut and the Obi, he saw but one race.

He that describes the Tungusians of Asia seems also to describe the North American. That the Tschukchi of northeastern Asia and the Esquimaux of America are of the same origin is proved by the affinity of their languages, thus establishing an ancient connection between the continents previous to the discovery of America by cultivated Europeans. The indigenous population of America offers no greater obstacle to faith in the unity of the human race than exists in the three continents first known to civilization.

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS OF FRANCE IN NORTH AMERICA.

The first permanent efforts of French enterprise in colonizing America preceded any permanent English settlement north of the Potomac. Five years before the pilgrims anchored within Cape Cod, the Roman church had been planted by missionaries from France in the eastern half of Maine; in 1615 and the year which followed it, Le Caron, an unambitious Franciscan, the companion of Champlain, reached the hunting-grounds of the Wyandots, and, on foot or paddling a bark canoe, went onward and still onward, taking alms of the savages, till he reached the rivers of Lake Huron. While Quebec contained scarce fifty inhabitants, missionaries of the same order, among them La Roche and the historian Sagard, had made their way to the Huron tribe that dwelt by the waters of the Niagara.

In 1622, after the Canada company had been suppressed, the Calvinists, William and Emeric Caen, had for five years enjoyed its immunities. The colony was distracted by the rivalry which sprung up between Catholics and Huguenots. Champlain appealed to the royal council and to Richelieu, who had been created grand master of navigation. Suppressing former grants, the minister, in 1627, created for New France the company of the One Hundred Associates, as they were called. Their dominion included "New France or Canada from Florida to the Arctic circle, from Newfoundland as far west as they might carry the Gallic name."

For its safety, New France would need an increase of its population, and permanent missions among the many tribes of red men to secure them as allies. Quebec had hitherto been

little more than the station of the few persons who were employed in the fur trade; the Hundred Associates pledged themselves within fifteen years to send over four thousand emigrants, male and female, all of whom were to be Catholics and of the French nation. Champlain, still the governor of New France, ever disinterested and compassionate, full of honor and probity and ardent devotion, esteemed "the salvation of a soul worth more than the conquest of an empire." Touched by the simplicity of the order of St. Francis, he had selected its priests of the contemplative class for his companions; "for they were free from ambition;" but now they were set aside because they were of a mendicant order, and for the office of aiding the enlargement of French dominion by missions in Canada the society of the Jesuits was preferred.

The establishment of "the Society of Jesus" by Loyola was contemporary with the reformation, of which it was designed to arrest the progress; and its complete organization belongs to the period when the first full edition of Calvin's Institutes saw the light. Its members were, by its rules, never to become prelates, and could gain power and distinction only by their sway over mind. They took vows of poverty, chastity, absolute obedience, and a constant readiness to go on missions to the heretic or heathen. Their order aimed at the widest diffusion of its activity, and, immediately on its institution, their missionaries made their way to the ends of the earth. Religious enthusiasm colonized New England; religious enthusiasm took possession of the wilderness on the upper lakes and explored the Mississippi. Puritanism gave New England its worship and its schools; the Roman church and Jesuit priests raised for Canada its altars, its hospitals, and its seminaries. The influence of Calvin can be traced in every New England village; in Canada, not a cape was turned, nor a mission founded, nor a river entered, nor a settlement begun, but a Jesuit led the way. The Hundred Associates, giving attention only to the commercial monopoly of a privileged company, neglected their pledges to bring over colonists; the climate of Quebec, "where shivering summer hurries through the sky," did not allure the peasantry of France; and no persecution of Catholics swelled

the stream of emigration; there was little except missionary zeal to give vitality to French dominion.

Behold, then, in 1634, the Jesuits Brebeuf and Daniel, soon to be followed by Lallemand and others of their order, joining a party of barefoot Hurons, who were returning from Quebec to their country. The journey, by way of the Ottawa and the rivers that interlock with it, was one of more than three hundred leagues, through a region dank with forests. All day long the missionaries must wade, or handle the oar. At night, there is no food for them but a scanty measure of Indian corn mixed with water; their couch is the earth or the rock. At five-and-thirty waterfalls the canoe is to be carried on the shoulders for leagues through thick woods or roughest regions; fifty times it was dragged by hand through shallows and rapids, over sharp stones; and thus—swimming, wading, paddling, or bearing the canoe across the portages, with garments torn, with feet mangled, yet with the breviary safely hung round the neck, and vows, as they advanced, to meet death twenty times over, if it were possible, for the honor of St. Joseph—the consecrated envoys made their way, by rivers, lakes, and forests, from Quebec to the heart of the Canadian wilderness. There, to the northwest of Lake Toronto, near the shore of Lake Iroquois, which is but a bay of Lake Huron, they, in September, raised the humble house of the Society of Jesus; the cradle, it was said, of his church who dwelt at Bethlehem in a cottage. At this little chapel, dedicated to St. Joseph, vespers and matins began to be chanted and bread consecrated in the presence of the hereditary guardians of the Huron council-fires. Beautiful testimony to the equality of the human race! the sacred wafer, emblem of the divinity in man, all that the church offered to the princes and nobles of the European world, was shared with the humblest neophyte; moreover, by the charter of the Hundred Associates, every Indian convert was deemed to be a native citizen of France. Two new Christian villages, St. Louis and St. Ignatius, sprung up, and there ascetic devotees uttered vows in the Huron tongue; while skeptics of the wilderness asked if there were, indeed, in the centre of the earth, everlasting flames for the unbelieving.

The missionary on Lake Huron devoted the earliest hours to private prayer; the day was given to schools, visits, instruction in the catechism, and a service for proselytes. Sometimes, after the manner of St. Francis Xavier, Brebeuf would walk through the village and its environs, ringing a little bell, and inviting the braves and counsellors to a conference. As stations multiplied, the central spot was named St. Mary's, upon the banks of the river now called Wye; and there, at the humble house dedicated to the Virgin, guests from the cabins of the red man received a frugal welcome.

At the news from this Huron Christendom, religious communities, in Paris and in the provinces, joined in prayers for its advancement; the king sent embroidered garments as presents to the neophytes; the queen, the princesses of the blood, the clergy of France, even Italy, listened with interest to the novel tale, and the pope expressed his favor. Prompted by his own philanthropy, Silleri, in 1637, founded near Quebec the village of Algonkins, which bears his name. In 1638, the duchess of Aiguillon, aided by her uncle, the Cardinal Richelieu, endowed a public hospital, open to the maimed, the sick, and the blind of any tribe between the Kennebec and Lake Superior. For its service, three hospital nuns of Dieppe were selected; the youngest but twenty-two, the eldest but twenty-nine.

Inspired by the same religious enthusiasm, Madame de la Peltrie, a young and opulent widow of Alençon, with the aid of a nun from Dieppe and two others from Tours, in 1639 came over to establish the Ursuline convent for the education of girls. As the youthful heroines stepped on shore at Quebec, they stooped to kiss the earth which they adopted as their country. The effort of educating the red man's children was at once begun.

Of Montreal, selected by the Sulpicians to be a nearer rendezvous for converted Indians, possession was taken, in 1640, by a solemn mass. In the following February, at the cathedral of Our Lady of Paris, a general supplication was made that the Queen of Angels would receive the island under her protection. In August of the same year the French and native chiefs met there to solemnize the festival of the assumption

The ancient hearth of the sacred fire of the Wyandots was consecrated to the Virgin.

Before 1647, the remote wilderness was visited by forty-two Jesuit missionaries, besides eighteen assistants.

By continual warfare with the Mohawks, the French had been excluded from the navigation of Lake Ontario, and had never even launched a canoe on Lake Erie. Their avenue to the West was by way of the Ottawa and French river. If the French could command the southern shore of Lake Ontario, they "could ascend the St. Lawrence without danger, and pass beyond Niagara with a great saving of time and pains." But the fixed hostility and the power of the Five Nations left no hope of success. In the autumn of 1640, Charles Raymbault and Claude Pijart reached the Huron missions. To preserve the avenue to the West by the Ottawa, they on their journey attempted the conversion of the roving tribes that were masters of the highways; and, in the following year, they roamed as missionaries with the Algonkins of Lake Nipising.

Toward the close of summer, these wandering tribes prepared to celebrate "their festival of the dead." To this ceremony all the confederate nations were invited; as they approach the shore, on a deep bay in Lake Iroquois, their canoes advance in regular array, and the representatives of nations leap on shore, uttering exclamations and cries of joy, which the rocks re-echo. The long cabin for the dead had been prepared; their bones are nicely disposed in coffins of bark, and wrapped in such furs as the wealth of Europe would have coveted; the mourning-song of the war-chiefs had been chanted, all night long, to the responsive wails of the women. The farewell to the dead, the honorable sepulchre, the dances, the councils, the presents, all were finished. But, before the assembly dispersed, the Jesuits received an invitation to visit the Ojibwas at Sault Ste. Marie. "We will embrace you as brothers," said their chieftains; "we will derive profit from your words."

For the leader of this voyage of discovery to the soil of one of our western states Charles Raymbault was selected; and, as Hurons were his attendants, Isaac Jogues was joined with him as interpreter. On the seventeenth of September 1641, these forerunners from Christendom left the bay of Penetangushene.

They passed up the clear waters and between the archipelagoes of Lake Huron, and on the eighteenth day landed at the falls in the straits that form the outlet of the vast upper lake. There they found an assembly, as they reported, of two thousand souls. They made inquiries respecting the many nations of the still remoter West; and among others they were told of the Sioux, who dwelt eighteen days' journey farther beyond the Great Lake which was still without a name; warlike tribes, with fixed abodes, cultivators of maize and tobacco, of an unknown race and language. The French bore the cross to the confines of Lake Superior, and looked wistfully toward the dwellers in the valley of the Mississippi, five years before the New England Eliot had addressed the tribe of Indians that dwelt within six miles of Boston harbor.

After this excursion, Raymbault repaired to the Huron missions, wasting away with consumption. In midsummer of 1642, he descended to Quebec, where he died. The body of this first apostle of Christianity in Michigan, who had glowed with the hope of bearing the gospel through all the American Barbary, even to the ocean that divides America from China, was buried in the same sepulchre with Champlain.

The companion of Raymbault encountered a more dreaded foe. In August 1642, while on the St. Lawrence, he was attacked by a detachment of Mohawks who lay in wait for the large fleet of canoes with which he was ascending to the Huron missions. Hurons and Frenchmen, chased by the Mohawks, make for the shore. Jogues might have escaped; but there were with him converts not yet baptized. Ahasistari, the greatest of the Huron warriors, had gained a place of safety: observing Jogues to be a captive, he returned to him, saying: "My brother, I made oath to thee that I would share thy fortune, whether death or life; here am I to keep my vow."

The inflictions of cruelty on the captives continued all the way from the St. Lawrence to the Mohawk. There they arrived the evening before the festival of the assumption of the Virgin; and the Jesuit father, as he ran the gauntlet, comforted himself with a vision of the glory of the queen of heaven. In a second and a third village, the same sufferings

were encountered; for days and nights he was abandoned to hunger and every torment which petulant youth could devise. But yet there was consolation: an ear of Indian corn on the stalk was thrown to the good father; and see! to the broad blade there clung drops enough of water or of dew to baptize two captive neophytes. Three Hurons were condemned to the flames. The brave Ahasistari, having received absolution, met torments and death with the enthusiasm of a convert and the pride of the most gallant war-chief of his nation. The captive novice, René Goupil, was seen to make the sign of the cross on an infant's brow; and lest he should "destroy the village by his charms," his master, with one blow from the tomahawk, laid him lifeless.

Father Jogues was spared, and his liberty enlarged. On a hill apart, he carved a long cross on a tree, and in the solitude meditated the imitation of Christ. Roaming through the stately forests of the Mohawk valley, where on every hand were to be seen the mighty deeds of the savage warriors, engraved and colored by their own hands, he wrote the name of Jesus on the bark of trees, and entered into possession of the country in the name of God, often lifting up his voice in a solitary chant. The missionary himself was ransomed by the Dutch and sent to his native land; but he made haste to renounce the honors which awaited his martyrlike zeal, and hastened back to terrible dangers in New France.

Similar were the sufferings of Father Bressani. Taken prisoner in 1644, while on his way to the Hurons; beaten and mangled; driven barefoot through briers and thickets; scourged by a whole village; burned, tortured, wounded, scarred, doomed to witness the fate of one of his companions, whose flesh was eaten—he was protected by some mysterious awe, and he, too, was rescued by the men of New Netherland.

In 1645, the French in Canada, neglected by their mother country, made one supreme effort for a treaty of peace with the Five Nations. At Three Rivers a great council is held. There are the French officers in their state; there the five Iroquois deputies, couched upon mats, bearing strings of wampum. It was agreed to smooth the forest path, to calm the river, to hide the tomahawk. "Let the clouds be dispersed,"

said the Iroquois; "let the sun shine on all the land between us." The Algonkins joined in the peace. "Here is a skin of a moose," said Negabamat, chief of the Montagnez; "make moccasons for the Mohawk deputies, lest they wound their feet on their way home." "We have thrown the hatchet," said the Mohawks, "so high into the air, and beyond the skies, that no arm on earth can reach to bring it down. The French shall sleep on our softest skins by the warm fire that shall be kept blazing all the night long. The shades of our braves that have fallen in war have gone so deep into the earth that they never can be heard calling for revenge." "I place a stone on their graves," said Pieskaret, "that no one may move their bones."

The Franciscans in their day had a lodge near the mouth of the Penobscot. Conversion to Catholic Christianity would establish the Abenakis of Maine as a wakeful barrier against New England. They had solicited missionaries; in August 1646, Father Gabriel Dreuillettes, first of Europeans, made the painful journey from the St. Lawrence to the sources of the Kennebec, and, descending that stream to its mouth, in a bark canoe continued his roamings on the open sea along the coast. After repeated visits he succeeded in winning the affections of the savages; and an Indian village gathered about the chapel, which their own hands assisted to build.

New France had its outposts on the Kennebec and on the shores of Lake Huron; but no defences on the side of Albany. The population hardly increased; there was no military force; and the trading company, deriving no income but from peltries and Indian traffic, had no motive to make large expenditures for protecting the settlements or promoting colonization. The strength of the colony lay in the missionaries. But what could sixty or seventy devotees accomplish among the wild tribes from Nova Scotia to Lake Superior?

A treaty of peace had, indeed, been ratified; for one winter Algonkins, Wyandots, and Iroquois joined in the chase. In May 1646, Father Jogues was received as an envoy by the Mohawks, and gained an opportunity of offering the friendship of France to the Onondagas. On his return, in June, his favorable report raised a hope of re-establishing a permanent mission among the Five Nations; and, as the only one who

knew their dialect, he was selected as its founder. "Ibo, et non redibo"—"I shall go, but shall never return"—were his words of farewell. On arriving at the Mohawk castles, in October, he was received as a prisoner, and, against the voice of the other nations, was condemned by the grand council of the Mohawks as an enchanter, who had blighted their harvest. As he entered the cabin where the death-festival was kept, he received the death-blow. His head was hung upon the palisades of the village, his body thrown into the Mohawk river.

This was the signal for war. The Five Nations, especially the Mohawks, had persuaded themselves that, if all the tribes to the north of them should unite with the French, their own confederation would be overpowered and broken. This fear for the future, combined with the unappeased spirit of revenge which had existed from the days of Champlain, and had been nourished by new wars and reciprocal violence and clashing interests, had now doomed the Huron nation to be exterminated or scattered, and each sedentary mission was a special point of attraction to the invader. On the morning of July 4, 1648, when the braves were absent on the chase, and none but women, children, and old men remained at home, Father Anthony Daniel, of the village of St. Joseph, on the river Wye, hears the cry of the Mohawks, and hastens to the scene of desolation and carnage. He baptizes the crowd of suppliants by aspersion; just then the palisades are forced. He ran to comfort and baptize the sick; to pronounce a general absolution, and then, as the Mohawks approach the chapel, he serenely advances to meet them. They discharge at him a flight of arrows; rent by wounds, he still continued to speak with surprising energy, till he received a death-blow from a halbert. By his religious associates it was believed that he appeared twice after his death, in youthful radiance; that a crowd of souls, redeemed from purgatory, were his escort into heaven.

On the sixteenth of March, 1649, a party of a thousand Iroquois surprised before dawn the village of St. Ignatius, and an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants followed.

The village of St. Louis receives an alarm; and its women and children fly to the woods, while eighty warriors prepare a defence. A breach is made in the palisades; the enemy enter;

and the group of Indian cabins becomes a slaughter-house. Here resided Jean de Brebeuf, disciplined by twenty years' service in the wilderness work to firmness beyond every trial. Here, too, was the younger and gentler Gabriel Lallemand. Both the missionaries might have escaped, but both remain with their converts, and, as prisoners of the Mohawks, must endure all the tortures which the ruthless fury of a raging multitude could invent. Brebeuf, who was set apart on a scaffold, in the midst of every outrage, rebuked his persecutors and encouraged the Hurons. The delicate Lallemand was enveloped from head to foot with bark full of rosin. Brought into the presence of Brebeuf, he exclaimed: "We are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men." The pine bark was set on fire, and, when it was in a blaze, boiling water was poured on the heads of both the missionaries. Brebeuf was scalped while yet alive, and died after a torture of three hours; the sufferings of Lallemand were prolonged for seventeen hours. The lives of both had been a continual martyrdom; their deaths were the astonishment of their executioners.

The Jesuits never receded; but as, in a brave army, new troops press forward to fill the places of the fallen, there were never wanting heroism and enterprise in behalf of the cross and French dominion.

The great point of desire was the conversion of the Five Nations. Undismayed missionaries were eager to gain admission among them, while they, having through the Dutch learned the use of fire-arms, seemed resolved on asserting their power, not only over the barbarians of the North, the West, and the South-west, but over the French themselves. The Ottawas were driven from their old abodes to forests in the bay of Saginaw. No frightful solitude in the wilderness, no impenetrable recess in the frozen North, was safe against the Five Nations. Their chiefs, animated not by cruelty only, but by pride, were resolved that no nook should escape their invasions, that no nation should rule but themselves; and their warriors, in 1653, killed the governor of Three Rivers, and carried off a priest from Quebec.

At length, satisfied with the display of their prowess, they desired rest. Besides, of the scattered Hurons, many had

sought refuge among their oppressors, and, according to an Indian custom, had been incorporated with their tribes; and some of them retained affection for the French. When, in 1654, peace was concluded, and Father Le Moyne appeared as envoy among the Onondagas to ratify the treaty, he found there a multitude of Hurons, who, like the Jews at Babylon, retained their faith in a land of strangers. The hope was renewed of winning the West and North.

The villages bordering on the Dutch were indifferent to the peace; the western tribes, who could more easily traffic with the French, adhered to it firmly; and Le Moyne selected the banks of the river of the Mohawks for his abode.

In November 1655, Chaumonot, long a missionary among the Hurons, accompanied by Claude Dablon, a priest, recently arrived from France, and a party of laymen and soldiers, were welcomed at Onondaga, the principal village of the tribe. A general convention was held by their desire; under the open sky and before the multitudinous assembly presents were delivered; and the Jesuit, with much gesture, after the Italian manner, discoursed so eloquently to the crowd that it seemed to Dablon as if the word of God had been preached to all the nations of that land. On the next day, the chiefs and others crowded round the Jesuits, with their songs of welcome. "Happy land!" they sang; "happy land! in which the French are to dwell;" and the chief led the chorus: "Glad tidings! glad tidings! it is well that we have spoken together; it is well that we have a heavenly message." A chapel sprung into existence, and, by the zeal of the natives, was finished in a day. "For marbles and precious metals," writes Dablon, "we employed only bark; but the path to heaven is as open through a roof of bark as through arched ceilings of silver and gold." The savages showed themselves susceptible of religious ecstasy; and in the heart of New York, near the present city of Syracuse, hard by the spring which is still known as the Jesuits' Well, the services of the Roman church were securely chanted. The cross and the lily were cherished in the hamlet which was at that time the farthest inland European settlement in our country, and long preceded the occupation of western New York by the English.

The success of the mission encouraged Dablon to invite a French colony into the land of the Onondagas; and, though the attempt excited the jealousy of the Mohawks, whose war-chiefs, in their hunt after Huron fugitives, still roamed even to the isle of Orleans, in May 1656, a company of fifty Frenchmen embarked for Onondaga. In July, diffuse harangues, dances, songs, and feastings were their welcome from the Indians. In a general convocation of the tribe, the question of adopting Christianity as their religion was debated; and sanguine hope already looked upon their land as a part of Christendom. The chapel, too small for the throng of worshippers that assembled to the sound of its little bell, was enlarged. The Cayugas desired a missionary, and received the fearless René Mesnard. In their village a chapel was erected, with mats for the tapestry; and pictures of the Saviour and of the Virgin mother were unfolded to the admiring children of the wilderness. The Oneidas listened to the missionary; and, early in 1657, Chaumonot reached the more fertile and more densely peopled land of the Senecas. The Jesuit priests published their faith from the Mohawk to the Genesee, Onondaga remaining the central station.

At this time, the ruthless extermination of the nation of the Huron-Eries, who dwelt on the southern shore of Lake Erie, was completed. Prisoners were brought to the villages and delivered to the flames; even children were burned with refinements of tortures. "Our lives," said Mesnard, "are not safe." In Quebec, and in France, men trembled for the missionaries. Their home was among cannibals; hunger, thirst, nakedness, were their trials; and the first colony of the French, established near the lake of Onondaga, suffered from fever. Border collisions continued. The Oneidas murdered three Frenchmen, and the French retaliated by seizing Iroquois. After discovering a conspiracy among the Onondagas, and vainly soliciting re-enforcements, the French, in March 1658, abandoned their chapel, their cabins, and the valley of the Oswego. The Mohawks compelled Le Moyne to return; and the French and the Five Nations were enemies as before. So ended the most successful attempt at French colonization in New Netherland.

CHAPTER X.

FRANCE AND THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

New France was too feeble to defend itself against the Five Nations, to which it was inferior in numbers. Its harvest could not be gathered in safety; the convents and the hospitals were insecure; an ecclesiastic was killed near the gates of Montreal; the missions among the Hurons had been extinguished in blood; and the fugitives could find no resting-place nearer than a bay in Lake Superior, within the limits of the present state of Michigan. Many prepared to abandon the country. A new organization of the colony was needed, or it must come to an end. Louis XIV. at five years old had become king of France; at thirteen, had declared himself of age; and, at twenty-three, assumed to act as his own chief minister.

In February 1663, the company of the Hundred Associates made a surrender of their charter, which, in the following month, the king, then but twenty-four years of age, accepted in the hope, "through the re-establishment of commerce," to create "abundance for his people." In the new regulations, Quebec for the first time was called a city, and New France became a royal province or kingdom.

At once a Jesuit historian of Canada implored the royal aid against the Iroquois assassins, robbers, and slow-torturing executioners, saying: "New France is thine, most Christian king. On thee, its state and its church place all their hopes. Beat down with iron the atrocity of the Iroquois; so shall the kingdom of Christ and thy kingdom be extended far and wide, and God may grant thee to exalt the dauphin to the highest summit of human greatness."

In May 1664, the king granted to a new company of the West Indies, for forty years, the exclusive privilege of all French commerce and navigation in North and South America, excepting only the fisheries, which remained free for every Frenchman. But eleven months did not pass before the entreaty of the colonists for freedom of commerce brought about a compromise.

As a result of the direct rule of the king, the year 1665 saw the colony of New France protected by the royal regiment of Carignan, with the aged but indefatigable Tracy as general; with Courcelles, a veteran soldier, as governor; and with Talon, a man of business and of integrity, as intendant and representative of the king in civil affairs. The Iroquois were held in check, but not subdued.

In October 1660, the Jesuit René Mesnard had transferred the mission of Christian savages that fled before the Iroquois to the bay which he called St. Theresa, and which may have been the bay of Keweenaw, on the south shore of Lake Superior. After a residence of eight months, on a journey to Green Bay he was separated from his guide and was never again seen.

In August 1665, Father Claude Alloüez embarked by way of the Ottawa for the far West. Early in September, he reached the rapid river through which the waters of the upper lakes rush to the Huron. On the second of that month, he entered the "Superior" or upper lake, which the savages reverenced as a divinity. Its entrance presented to him a spectacle of rugged grandeur. He passed the lofty ridge of naked sand, which marks the shore by its stupendous piles of drifting barrenness; he sailed beyond the cliffs of pictured sandstone, which for twelve miles rise three hundred feet in height, fretted by the chafing waves into arches and bastions, caverns and walls, heaps of prostrate ruins, and erect columns seemingly crowned with entablatures. On the first day of October, he arrived at the great village of the Ojibwas in the bay of Chegoimegon, now within the limits of the state of Wisconsin. It was at a moment when the young warriors were bent on a strife with the warlike Sioux. A grand council of ten or twelve neighboring nations was held to wrest the hatchet from

the rash braves; and Alloüez was admitted to the assembly. In the name of Louis XIV. and his viceroy, he commanded peace, and offered commerce and an alliance against the Iroquois; the soldiers of France would smooth the path between the Ojibwas and Quebec; would brush pirate canoes from the rivers; would leave to the Five Nations no choice but between peace and destruction. Before 1667, on the shore of the bay, to which the abundant fisheries attracted crowds, a chapel rose, and the mission of the Holy Spirit was founded. Throngs came to gaze on the white man, and on the pictures which he displayed of hell and of the last judgment; and a choir learned to chant the pater and the ave. During his long sojourn, Alloüez lighted the torch of faith for more than twenty different nations. The dwellers round the Sault, a band of the Ojibwas, pitched their tents near his cabin for a month, and received his instructions. Scattered Hurons and Ottawas, that roamed the deserts north of Lake Superior, appealed to his compassion, and were visited by him before his return. From the unexplored recesses of Lake Michigan the Pottawatomies, worshippers of the sun, invited him to their homes. The Sacs and Foxes travelled to him on foot from their country, which abounded in deer and beaver and buffalo. The Illinois, a hospitable race, unaccustomed to canoes, having no weapon but the bow and arrow, rehearsed their sufferings from the Sioux on the one side, and the Iroquois, armed with muskets, on the other. Curiosity was roused by their tale of the noble river on which they dwelt, and which flowed toward the south. "They had no forests, but, instead of them, vast prairies, where herds of deer and buffalo, and other animals, grazed on the tall grasses." They explained their custom of smoking with the friendly stranger the calumet or pipe of peace and welcoming him. "Their country," said Alloüez, "is the best field for the gospel."

There, too, at the extremity of the lake, the missionary met the impassive warriors of the Sioux, who dwelt to the west of Lake Superior, in a land of prairies, with wild rice for food, and skins of beasts for roofs to their cabins, on the banks of the great river, of which Alloüez reported the name to be "Messipi."

While the Jesuits were forming alliances in the heart of the continent, Talon sought to use the faithlessness of Charles II. for the benefit of France. In the war with Holland, England had gained possession of what is now New York. Talon advised Colbert in the negotiations for peace between the United Netherlands and England to take care to stipulate for its restitution; but first by a secret treaty to obtain a grant of it from the Netherlands. "The country," he wrote, "would give to the king a second entrance into Canada; would secure to the French all the peltry of the north; would place the Iroquois at the mercy of his majesty. Moreover, the king could take New Sweden when he pleased, and shut up New England within its own bounds."

After residing nearly two years chiefly on the southern margin of Lake Superior, Alloüez, in August 1667, returning to Quebec, urged the establishment of permanent missions and colonies of French emigrants; and such was his own fervor, such the earnestness with which he was seconded, that, in two days, with another priest, Louis Nicolas, for his companion, he was on his way back to the mission at Chegoimegon. In this year, some Indians gave to the French a massive specimen of very pure copper ore.

The prevalence of peace favored the progress of French dominion; a recruit of missionaries had arrived from France; and Claude Dablon and James Marquette repaired to the Ojibwas at the Sault, to establish the mission of St. Mary. It is the oldest settlement begun by Europeans within the commonwealth of Michigan.

For the succeeding years, the illustrious triumvirate, Alloüez, Dablon, and Marquette, aided by other Jesuit priests, extended the influence of France to the head of Lake Superior on the one side and to Green Bay on the other. From Green bay the Fox river was ascended and a mission was established on its banks, where it approaches nearest to waters flowing to the south-west. Each missionary among the barbarians must expose himself to the inclemencies of nature and of man. He defies the severity of climate, wading through water or through snows, without the comfort of fire; having no bread but pounded maize, and often no food but moss from the

rocks; laboring incessantly; exposed to live, as it were, without nourishment, to sleep without a resting-place, to travel far, and always to carry his life in his hand, expecting captivity or death by the tomahawk, tortures, and fire. And yet the wilderness had for him its charms. Under a serene sky, and with a mild temperature, and breathing a pure air, he moved over lakes as transparent as the most limpid fountain or waters that glided between prairies or ancient groves. Every encampment offered his attendants the pleasures of the chase. Like a patriarch, he dwelt beneath a tent; and of the land through which he walked, he was the master. How often was the pillow of stones like that where Jacob felt the presence of God! How often did the ancient oak, of which the centuries were untold, seem like the tree of Mamre, beneath which Abraham broke bread with angels!

The purpose of discovering the Mississippi sprung up in the mind of Marquette. Moved by the accounts of it which he gathered from the natives, he would have attempted it in the autumn of 1669; and, when ordered to the mission at Chegoimegon, which Alloüez left for a new one at Green Bay, he took with him a young man of the Illinois to teach him their language.

Continued commerce with the French gave protection to the Algonkins of the West, and confirmed their attachment. A strong interest in New France grew up in Colbert and the other ministers of Louis XIV. It became the ambition of Talon, the intendant at Quebec, to send the banner of France even to the Pacific. As soon as he disembarked at Quebec, he made choice of Saint-Lusson to hold a congress at the falls of St. Mary. The invitation was sent in every direction for more than a hundred leagues round about; and fourteen nations, among them Sacs, Foxes, and Miamis, agreed to be present by their ambassadors.

The fourth of June 1671, the day appointed for the congress of nations, arrived; and, with Alloüez as his interpreter, Saint-Lusson, fresh from an excursion to the borders of the Kennebec, appeared at the falls of St. Mary as the delegate of the king of France. It was announced to the natives, who were gathered from the headsprings of the St. Lawrence, the

Mississippi, and the Red river, that they were placed under his protection. On the banks of the St. Mary, where the bounding river leaps along the rocks, a cross of cedar was raised, and, in the presence of the ancient races of America, the French chanted that hymn of the seventh century:

Vexilla Regis prodeunt;
Fulget crucis mysterium:
The banners of heaven's King advance;
The mystery of the cross shines forth.

In the presence of the ancient races of the land a column, marked with the lilies of the Bourbons, was planted in the heart of the continent.

In the same year, Marquette gathered the wandering remains of one branch of the Huron nation round a chapel at Point St. Ignace, on the northern side of the strait of Michilimachinac. The climate was repulsive; but fish abounded at all seasons in the strait; and the establishment was long maintained as the key to the West, and the convenient rendezvous of the remote Algonkins. Here Marquette once more gained a place among the founders of Michigan. Nicolas Perrot, an adventurous explorer, attempted the discovery of copper mines.

The countries south of the village founded by Marquette were explored by Alloüez and Dablon, who bore the cross through eastern Wisconsin and the north of Illinois, visiting the Mascoutins and the Kickapoos on the Milwaukee, and the Miamis at the head of Lake Michigan. The young men of the latter tribe, intent on an excursion against the Sioux, entreated the missionaries to give them the victory. After finishing the circuit, Alloüez made an excursion to the cabins of the Foxes on the river which bears their name.

The long-expected discovery of the Mississippi was at hand, to be accomplished by James Marquette and by Louis Jolliet. The enterprise was favored by Talon, who, on the point of quitting Canada, wished to signalize the last years of his stay by opening for France the way to the western ocean; and who, immediately on the arrival of Frontenac from France, in 1672, had advised him to employ Louis Jolliet in the discovery. Jolliet was a native of Quebec, educated at its college, and a man "of great experience" as a wayfarer in the

wilderness. He had already been in the neighborhood of the great river which was called the Mississippi, and which at that time was supposed to discharge itself into the gulf of California; and early in 1673 he entered on his great career.

A branch of the Pottawatomies, familiar with Marquette as a missionary, heard with wonder the daring proposal. "Those distant nations," said they, "never spare the stranger; their mutual wars fill their borders with bands of warriors; the great river abounds in monsters, which devour both men and canoes; the excessive heats occasion death." "I shall gladly lay down my life for the salvation of souls," replied the good father; and the docile nation joined him in prayer.

At the last village on Fox river which had as yet been visited by the French—where Kickapoos, Mascoutins, and Miamis dwelt together on a hill in the centre of prairies and groves that extended as far as the eye could reach, and where Alloüez had already raised the cross which the savages had ornamented with brilliant skins and crimson belts, a thank-offering to the great Manitou—the ancients received the pilgrims in council, of whom Marquette was but thirty-six years old, and Jolliet but seven-and-twenty. "My companion," said Marquette, "is an envoy of France to discover new countries; and I am ambassador from God to enlighten them with the gospel;" and, offering presents, he begged two guides for the morrow. The wild men answered courteously, and gave in return a mat, to serve as a couch during the long voyage.

Behold, then, in 1673, on the tenth day of June, James Marquette and Louis Jolliet, five Frenchmen as companions, and two Algonkins as guides, dragging their two canoes across the narrow portage that divides the Fox river from the Wisconsin. They reach the water-shed; uttering a special prayer to the immaculate Virgin, they part from the streams that could have borne their greetings to the castle of Quebec. "The guides returned," says the gentle Marquette, "leaving us alone, in this unknown land, in the hands of Providence." Embarking on the broad Wisconsin, the discoverers went solitarily down its current, between alternate plains and hillsides, beholding neither man nor familiar beasts; no sound broke the silence but the ripple of their canoes and the lowing of the buffalo. In seven

days "they entered happily the great river, with a joy that could not be expressed;" and, raising their sails under new skies and to unknown breezes, floated down the calm magnificence of the ocean stream, over clear sand-bars, the resort of innumerable water-fowl; through clusters of islets tufted with massive thickets, and between the natural parks of Illinois and Iowa.

About sixty leagues below the Wisconsin, the western bank of the Mississippi bore on its sands the trail of men; a foot-path was discerned leading into beautiful fields; and Jolliet and Marquette resolved alone to brave a meeting with the savages. After walking six miles, they beheld a village on the banks of a river, and two others on a slope, at a distance of a mile and a half from the first. The river was the Moingona, of which we have corrupted the name into Des Moines. Marquette and Jolliet, the first white men who trod the soil of Iowa, commending themselves to God, uttered a loud cry. Four old men advanced slowly to meet them, bearing the peace-pipe, brilliant with many colored plumes. "We are Illinois," said they—that is, when translated, "We are men;" and they offered the calumet. An aged chief received them at his cabin with upraised hands, exclaiming: "How beautiful is the sun, Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! Our village awaits thee; enter in peace into our dwellings."

To the council Marquette published the one true God, their Creator. He spoke of the great captain of the French, the governor of Canada, who had chastised the Five Nations and commanded peace; and he questioned them respecting the Mississippi and the tribes that possessed its banks.

After six days' delay, and invitations to new visits, the chieftain of the tribe, with hundreds of warriors, attended the strangers to their canoes; and, selecting a peace-pipe embellished with the head and neck of brilliant birds, and feathered over with plumage of various hues, they hung round Marquette the sacred calumet, the mysterious arbiter of peace and war, a safeguard among the nations.

"I did not fear death," says Marquette, in July; "I should have esteemed it the greatest happiness to have died for the glory of God." They passed the perpendicular rocks, which

wore the appearance of monsters; they heard at a distance the noise of the waters of the Missouri, known to them by its Algonkin name of Pekitanoni; and, when they came to the grandest confluence of rivers in the world, where the swifter Missouri rushes like a conqueror into the calmer Mississippi, dragging it, as it were, hastily to the sea, the good Marquette resolved in his heart one day to ascend the mighty river to its source; to cross the ridge that divides the oceans; and, descending a westerly flowing stream, to publish the gospel to all the people of this New World.

In a little less than forty leagues the canoes floated past the Ohio, which then, and long afterward, was called the Wabash. Its banks were tenanted by numerous villages of the peaceful Shawnees, who quailed under the incursions of the Iroquois.

The thick canes begin to appear so close and strong that the buffalo could not break through them; the insects become intolerable; as a shelter against the suns of July the sails are folded into an awning. The prairies vanish; and forests of whitewood, admirable for their vastness and height, crowd even to the skirts of the pebbly shore. In the land of the Chicasaws fire-arms were already in use.

Near the latitude of thirty-three degrees, on the western bank of the Mississippi, stood the village of Mitchigamea, in a region that had not been visited by Europeans since the days of De Soto. "Now," thought Marquette, "we must, indeed, ask the aid of the Virgin." Armed with bows and arrows, with clubs, axes, and bucklers, amid continual whoops, the natives embark in boats made of the trunks of huge hollow trees; but, at the sight of the peace-pipe held aloft, they threw down their bows and quivers and prepared a hospitable welcome.

The next day a long, wooden boat, containing ten men, escorted the discoverers, for eight or ten leagues, to the village of Akansea, the limit of their voyage. They had left the region of the Algonkins, and, in the midst of the Dakotas and Chicasaws, could speak only by an interpreter. A half league above Akansea they were met by two boats, in one of which stood the commander, holding in his hand the peace-pipe, and

singing as he drew near. After offering the pipe he gave bread of maize. The wealth of his tribe consisted in buffalo-skins; their weapons were axes of steel—a proof of commerce with Europeans.

Having descended below the entrance of the Arkansas, and having ascertained that the father of rivers went not to the Gulf of California, but was undoubtedly the river of the Spiritu Santo of the Spaniards which pours its flood of waters into the Gulf of Mexico, on the seventeenth of July Marquette and Jolliet left Akansea and ascended the Mississippi, having the greatest difficulty in stemming its currents.

At the thirty-eighth degree of latitude they entered the river Illinois, which was broad and deep, and peaceful in its flow. Its banks were without a paragon for its prairies and its forests, its buffaloes and deer, its turkeys and geese and many kinds of game, and even beavers; and there were many small lakes and rivulets. "When I was told of a country without trees," wrote Jolliet, "I imagined a country that had been burned over, or of a soil too poor to produce anything; but we have remarked just the contrary, and it would be impossible to find a better soil for grain, for vines, or any fruits whatever." He held the country on the Illinois river to be the most beautiful and the most easy to colonize. "There is no need," he said, "that an emigrant should employ ten years in cutting down the forest and burning it. On the day of his arrival the emigrant could put the plough into the earth." The tribe of the Illinois entreated Marquette to come back and reside among them. One of their chiefs with young men guided the party to the portage, which, in spring and the early part of summer, was but half a league long, and they easily reached the lake. "The place at which we entered the lake," to use the words of Jolliet, "is a harbor very convenient to receive ships and to give them protection against the wind." Before the end of September the explorers were safe in Green Bay; but Marquette was exhausted by his labors.

At Quebec, while Jolliet's journal was waited for, the utility of the discovery was at once set forth: It will open the widest field for the publication of the Christian faith; the way to the Gulf of California, and so to the seas of Japan

and China, will be found by ascending the Missouri to the water-shed on the west; an admirable line of navigation may be opened between Quebec and Florida by cutting through the portage between Chicago and the Illinois river; moreover, the noblest opportunity is given for planting colonies in a country which is vast and beautiful and most fertile. In a relation sent, in 1674, by Father Dablon, it was proposed to connect Lake Michigan with the Illinois river by a canal.

In 1675, Marquette, who had been delayed by his failing health for more than a year, rejoined the Illinois on their river. Assembling the tribe, whose chiefs and men were reckoned at two thousand, he raised before them pictures of the Virgin Mary, spoke to them of one who had died on the cross for all men, and built an altar and said mass in their presence on the prairie. Again celebrating the mystery of the eucharist, on Easter Sunday he took possession of the land in the name of Jesus Christ, and, to the joy of the multitude, founded the mission of the Immaculate Conception. This work being accomplished, his health failed him, and he began a journey through Chicago to Mackinaw. On the way, feeling himself arrested by the approach of death, he entered a little river in Michigan, and was set on shore that he might breathe his last in peace. Like Francis Xavier, whom he loved to imitate, he repeated in solitude all his acts of devotion of the preceding days. Then, having called his companions and given them absolution, he begged them once more to leave him alone. When, after a little while, they returned to him, they found him passing gently away near the stream that has taken his name. On its highest bank the canoe-men dug his grave. To a city, a county, and a river, Michigan has given his name.

In 1666, at the age of twenty-two, Robert Cavelier de la Salle, of a good family in France, educated in the seminary of the Jesuits, embarked for fortune and fame in New France, with no companions but sobriety, a well-regulated life, and a boundless spirit of enterprise. At first he made his home in Montreal, where the Sulpicians granted him a manor that half in mockery soon took the name of La Chine, as if it had been the starting-point for China. Connecting a

trade in furs with his cares as a proprietary, he was led by his nature to wide explorations.

Having heard through red men reports of the river Ohio and its easy access, the hope rose within him of reaching the rich country on its banks under a milder clime, perhaps even of finding the true way to the south sea. In 1669, he therefore parted with his estate on the island of Montreal, with slight reservations, and entered on the career of a discoverer; but, as he has left no record of his achievements, a cloud of uncertainty hangs over the two next years of his life.

In 1672, the Count de Frontenac, a veteran soldier, of the rank of lieutenant-general, was appointed governor of New France. He was brave, impatient of control, and suspicious of the ambition of the Jesuits to overrule his administration. In the summer of 1673, he ascended the St. Lawrence to observe for himself the upper country, and to hold a council with the Iroquois. La Salle first appears in history as his messenger, chosen to invite the chiefs of the Five Nations to a meeting. Accepting the mission, he sent at once to the governor a map of Lake Ontario, which showed clearly that the fittest site for a fort and for receiving the Indians was on the bank of the Cataraqui river near the outlet of the lake, where Kingston now stands.

The young envoy's advice was followed implicitly. At the council with the Iroquois, on the thirteenth of July, the governor of Canada for the first time addressed them as his "children," and received the name of Onondio. To secure peace, he joined the language of confident superiority to words of conciliation. La Salle remained in the service of the governor for more than a year, during which time Fort Frontenac was built of wood.

In November of 1674, Frontenac reported to Colbert, the able minister of Louis XIV., that "the Sieur de la Salle was about to pass into France," saying: "He is a man of parts and intelligence, and the most capable man that I know here for all the enterprises and discoveries that there may be a disposition to confide to him. He has a most perfect knowledge of the state of this country, as will appear to you if you give him a few moments of audience." Repairing to Paris, La Salle

presented his proposition. To Frontenac, in April 1675, Louis XIV. expressed his confidence in the advantages to be expected from the new post on Lake Ontario; and, on the thirteenth of the following May, he granted to Robert Cavelier de la Salle, Fort Frontenac, with a manor extending above and below the fort a mile and a half in depth by twelve miles along the lake and river. On the same day patents of nobility were issued to him as to one who had signalized himself "by despising danger," such are the king's words, "in extending to the end of this New World our name and our empire."

The grant secured to La Salle exclusively the trade of all men, white or red, whom he could allure to his domain; and the most convenient point to intercept the fur trade of the upper country; and he was protected by the power and the favor of the governor. The culture of two years proved the productiveness of his land; his cattle, poultry, and swine gave large increase; he attracted Iroquois stragglers to build and dwell on his estate; a few French sought of him shelter, and Franciscans renewed their zeal under his auspices; the noble forests gave timber for the construction of vessels with decks, two of twenty-five tons, one of thirty, and one of forty, on Lake Ontario. The speedy acquisition of wealth was assured to him. But fortune tempted him with more brilliant visions.

Two parties existed in Canada. As New England had been settled by towns having each its orthodox minister, so the Jesuits held that Illinois should be first occupied by their missions, and that colonies should then be grouped around each one of them. On the other hand, Frontenac insisted that the Jesuits had too much control over the king in the royal colony; and he gave the preference to other religious orders. So an intensely eager rivalry sprung up for the lead in western discovery, commerce, and colonization. Jolliet, who was of the Jesuit faction, repairing to France, asked leave to establish himself in the country of the Illinois; but his enemies were on the watch; his rightful claims to high honors as the discoverer of the great river were diminished or denied; and, in April 1677, his application was rudely rejected.

In the autumn of that year, La Salle, favored by Count

Frontenac, hastened to France, where he was again well received by Colbert. He dwelt on the magnificence of the five great lakes, but likewise on the difficulties of their navigation from falls and rapids. He claimed as the work of his early career to have descended the great river of Ohio at least to its falls, promising an easier mode of communication between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico. He extolled the temperate region, beautiful and fertile; with brooks, rivers, fish, game; where cattle could thrive all winter unhoused; he exhibited a buffalo robe as a new kind of fur; he spoke of the natives as more gentle and sociable, and this picture he held up against the poorer soil of Canada with its bloodthirsty savages and its six months of snow. He therefore demanded leave to spread colonies through the happy region as rapidly and as widely as possible by the aid of a revenue to be derived from a succession of trading forts connected with manors, as at Frontenac.

The petition of La Salle was seconded by Colbert; and, on the twelfth of May 1678, the king, avowing that he had nothing more at heart than the discovery of the western part of New France and of a way even to Mexico, granted him a monopoly of trade in buffalo skins, and the right to construct forts and take lands wherever he might think best. These he might hold on the same terms as Fort Frontenac; but with the condition that he should achieve the discovery within five years, and that he should not interfere with the fur trade that usually went to Montreal.

Never did fortune scatter from her urn richer, more numerous, or more varied promises than she now lavished on La Salle. With all the swiftness of confident hope he obtained, by loans from his family and from others, the large capital which he needed. Already he resolved to build two sea-going vessels on the Mississippi, and open commerce through the Gulf of Mexico. Taking as his aid the noble-minded and ever-faithful Henri de Tonti, an Italian veteran chosen for him by the prince of Conti, and having engaged a large recruit of mechanics and mariners, with anchors, and sails, and cordage for rigging ships, with stores of merchandise for traffic with the natives, La Salle embarked in July 1678, and in Sep

tember arrived in Quebec. Before winter, "a wooden canoe" of ten tons sailed with a part of his company into Niagara river; at Niagara a fortified trading-house was established; and near the mouth of the Cayuga creek the work of ship-building began. An advance detachment was sent into the country of the Illinois.

Leaving Tonti to superintend the construction of the ship, which went on rapidly, and setting a party to build two block-houses where Fort Niagara now stands, La Salle went down the river. The Jesuit party, which included all Quebec except the governor, were his enemies, and he was detained below by his restless creditors till after midsummer. Not until the seventh of August did he unfurl the sails of the Griffin, a brigantine of forty tons, to the winds of Lake Erie. Entering the Detroit river, he debated planting on its bank, and gave to Lake Saint Clair its name. He narrowly escaped foundering from the fury of the wild winds on Lake Huron, and sought a transient shelter at Mackinaw, the seat of a famous mission of the Jesuits, and the centre of the fur trade of Lower Canada. There every trader hated the upstart nobleman as a rival, and joined his relentless enemies.

In September, he cast anchor in Green Bay. Here he found that his advance party had collected a great store of furs, and, to meet the demands which were pressing upon him, he despatched them in the Griffin to Niagara. Then, combining with his movement the examination of both sides of Lake Michigan, he sent forward a detachment along the western shore, while he with the main body in bark canoes coasted the eastern shore to the mouth of the St. Joseph's, where Alloüez had already gathered a village of Miamis. Here he constructed the trading-house with palisades known as the fort of the Miamis, sounded the mouth of the river, and marked the channel by buoys; then leaving ten men to guard the fort, he, with Louis Hennepin and two other Franciscans, with Tonti and about thirty followers, ascended the St. Joseph's, and, after one short portage, entered a branch of the Kankakee, which connects with the Illinois.

Descending the Illinois slowly, La Salle observed, on their right, a little farther onward, a yellow sandstone "Rock," which,

with its flat summit, lifts its massive form one hundred and twenty-five feet or more above the river that flows at its base, in the centre of a lovely country of verdant prairies, bordered by distant slopes, richly tufted with oak, black-walnut, and others of the noblest trees of the American forest. Here, near the present town of Utica,* was the grand village of the Illinois. They were absent, according to their custom of passing the winter in the chase. He chose the spot for the centre of a French settlement, and resolved in his mind to crown the "huge cliff" with a fortress.

Continuing his downward voyage, he kept on the lookout till, below Lake Peoria, he selected the site for the fortified ship-yard where his men were to build a brig strong enough to carry them all down the great river and to navigate the Gulf of Mexico. But already he foreboded that the Griffin would never again be seen, and that his wealth with which it was freighted was hopelessly lost; doubt began to seize hold of his companions till he was deserted by a part of them, including his best carpenters. In the anguish of his soul he named the new fort Crevecœur, or Heartbreak.

With no resources but in himself, fifteen hundred miles from the nearest French settlement, impoverished, surrounded by wild and uncertain nations, he inspired the few who stayed by him with resolution to saw forest-trees into plank and lay the keel for the vessel in which they were to make their voyage. He despatched Louis Hennepin to explore the Mississippi above the Illinois river; he questioned the Illinois and their southern captives, such of them as he could find, on its downward course. Then, as recruits, sails, and cordage were needed, in March, with a musket and a pouch of powder and shot, a blanket, and skins for making moccasons, he, with three companions, set off for Fort Frontenac, travelling on foot as far as Detroit.

During the absence of La Salle, Michael Accault, accompanied by Hennepin, who bore the calumet, and Du Gay, followed the Illinois to its junction with the Mississippi, then ascended it to the great falls which, from the chosen patron saint of the expedition, were named the Falls of St. Anthony. On a tree near the cataract, the Franciscan engraved the cross

* Francis Parkman's La Salle, page 223, eleventh edition.

and the arms of France; and, after a summer's rambles, diversified by a short captivity of the party among the Sioux, from which they were rescued by the brave and able French officer, Daniel Duluth, the party returned, by way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, to Green Bay.

With a few men, Tonti executed an order sent him by his chief to examine "the Rock," near the great village of the Illinois, and make it a strong place. The ship-builders at Heartbreak seized the opportunity of his absence to steal whatever was of any value at their station and take shelter among the savages. In September 1680, a large war party of the Iroquois made a merciless and infuriated attack upon the Illinois, partly to destroy them as in war, partly to rob them of their store of furs. It was on this occasion that the great village of the Illinois was laid waste. Of Tonti and his few companions, their rights to protection as Frenchmen were respected, but they were compelled to retire to Green Bay.

At Niagara, where La Salle arrived on Easter Monday, he learned the certainty of the loss of the Griffin, and, further, that goods of great price, shipped to him from France, had been wrecked in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. His worn-out companions could travel no farther; alone he pushed forward to Fort Frontenac. But the farther he proceeded the darker grew his fortunes. All Canada, even the government, except Frontenac, seemed to have conspired against him. His own agents betrayed him; one of them despoiled him and escaped to New Netherland; his creditors laid hold of his property; of twenty men who had come over in his service from Europe, he could count but upon four, and every Canadian whom he had employed seemed to be detached from his interest.

Still adhering to the idea of descending the Great River in a sea-going vessel, La Salle, in August 1680, embarked on Lake Erie at the head of an advance party. Pursuing his old course by way of the Kankakee, on the first of December he reached the "Rock," which overhung a scene of carnage and desolation unequalled in atrocity by any Indian onslaught of which we have an authentic record. Of the Illinois village nothing was to be seen but burnt stakes which marked its extent. The heads of the dead remained stuck on poles for

the crows to strike at with their talons; before the eyes of La Salle and his attendants, the bodies of the slain were left to be rent in pieces by the wolves; and not only had the scaffolds on which the recent dead lay in their burial costume been thrown down, but an unheard-of sacrilegious wrath had burst open the pits for the final interment of past generations, and scattered their bones over the plain; while the wolves and crows, keeping up their revels for more than two months, increased the horror of the scene by their howlings and their cries. Proofs were abundant that Illinois captives had been put to death by their conquerors in a thousand modes of skilful torture; but there was no appearance that any Frenchman had been injured.

On the second of December, La Salle, well provided with arms and articles for presents, embarked at about three o'clock in the afternoon in a canoe with three European companions and one savage. The trees seen on the way down the river bore the portraits of the chiefs of the late Iroquois invaders, and the number of soldiers which each one had led; they amounted in all to five hundred and eighty-two. The killed and the captives were chiefly women and children, and their number, according to the record, was more than six hundred. At Heartbreak the vessel, which the deserters had left was found on the stocks little injured, and bearing the inscription, "We all are savages."

On the fifth, the party came upon the Great River. All was quiet. The whole of La Salle's advances had been fruitlessly spent; he commanded no longer credit enough to renew the expedition in the proportions in which it had been begun. Magnanimous, and not knowing how to be disheartened, he resolved to carry out his enterprise in bark canoes.

Winter was at hand, and the nearest place of refuge was his own fort on the St. Joseph's. Near the Illinois village, the collecting of maize and provisions, and hiding them for the next year's use, employed more than two weeks. The great comet of 1680 shone over him in its fullest lustre before he renewed his upward journey.

On the sixth of January 1681, La Salle's little party, which on their way had sought in vain for Tonti, arrived at the confluence of the Illinois with the Kankakee. The rest of the

journey to the fort on the St. Joseph's river was made through a continuous snow-storm of nineteen days.

His principal work during the winter was a formal reconcilement of the Miamis with the Iroquois. The following summer and autumn were taken up in a journey to Fort Frontenac, where he did what he could to appease his creditors and to provide for his final voyage. On the return, he formed a junction with Tonti at Mackinaw, and made his last purchases of stores. On the twenty-first of December, Tonti and Membré, the Franciscan, set forward in advance by way of the Chicago; La Salle soon followed with the rest of the party. The rivers were frozen, and they were obliged to drag their canoes on sledges, which Tonti had constructed for the purpose; nor did they find any open water until they had passed Lake Peoria.

On the sixth of February 1682, they arrived at the banks of the Mississippi, where, on account of the running ice, they took rest. There, on the fourteenth day of February, all being assembled, twenty-two Frenchmen, Henri de Tonti among them, Zénobe Membré, a Franciscan missionary, eighteen Algonkins, chiefly of New England, and ten Indian women as servants—in all at least fifty—embarked on the Mississippi.

They soon passed the Missouri, which La Salle regarded as the mightier branch of the Great River, with deeper and still more abundant waters and more Indian nations dwelling in its marvellously fertile valley. As he floated down the united stream, he seemed to hear in the distance "the sound of the advancing multitude" that was to fill the imperial wilderness with civilized states. On the thirteenth of March, at the village of the Akansas and in the presence of the tribe, possession was taken of the country for Louis the Great, with every civil and religious ceremony; and a carefully authenticated record was made of the act.

The mouths of the Mississippi were reached on the sixth of April. On the seventh, La Salle reconnoitred the south-west passage all the way to the sea, and fixed the latitude as near as he could at about twenty-seven degrees; but, from the frailty of his canoe, he was not able to make a proper examination of the entrance from the sea. Both La Salle and Tonti described the two channels as "beautiful, broad, and deep."

In that age, no mode of promptly ascertaining the longitude was known. On the eighth a dry spot was found for performing solemnly the act of taking possession. A column and a cross were prepared. The column bore the arms of France, with the inscription, "Louis, the great king of France and of Navarre, reigns, this ninth of April 1682." Every one remaining under arms, they chanted the Te Deum, and God save the King; amid salvos of musketry and cries of "Long live the king," La Salle erected the column, and pronounced that by authority of the royal commission he took possession of the country of the Mississippi, with all its tributaries, from the mouth of the Ohio on the east, from its head-spring on the west even beyond its valley to the mouth of the river of Palms. It was added that, as his majesty is the oldest son of the church, he would acquire no country for the crown without striving to establish in it the Christian religion; and then the cross was raised, while the whole company sang the same hymn that a few years before had been chanted at the falls of St. Mary: "The banners of Heaven's King advance: Vexilla Regis prodeunt."

La Salle immediately began the ascent of the river, forming the plan to return home and seek to establish a direct connection between France and Louisiana. But his health was undermined. Below the Red river he was delayed forty days by a dangerous malady. Not till the close of July could he slowly renew his journey. Bringing his affairs in the West into order, he selected the Rock which he named St. Louis for the central fort of his possessions; he encouraged and brought the Illinois back to their ancient village, and joined to them the Miamis; and, in a grossly exaggerated account, rated the Indians whom he had gathered near his fort at twenty thousand. Leaving Tonti in command with full instructions, he reached Quebec early in November, and Rochelle, in France, the twenty-third of December 1683. De la Barre, the successor of Frontenac, had from Quebec falsely reported him as disobedient, and planning an independent government in the West; ejecting his agents from Fort Frontenac, he sent an officer to supersede Tonti in Fort St. Louis.

La Salle arrived in France at a moment auspicious for his purposes. He had been waited for to give to the court an

ample account of the terrestrial paradise of America, where the king was to call into being a magnificent empire. Spain had insisted that the Gulf of Mexico was a closed sea of its own. Louis XIV. denied the assumption, ordered his ships of war to disregard it, and wished a convenient post somewhere on the Mississippi river from which a descent into the sea could readily be made. Spain and France were then at war.

Colbert, whose genius had awakened a national spirit in behalf of French industry, was no more; but Seignelay, his son, minister for maritime affairs, listened confidingly to the messenger from the land which was regarded as "the delight of the New World."

He was received by the king; his merits as an explorer were recognised. The Abbé Bernou described La Salle to Seignelay as "irreproachable in his morals, regular in his conduct, a strict disciplinarian, well informed, of good judgment, watchful, untiring, sober, and intrepid; he had knowledge of architecture as well as of agriculture; could speak four or five languages of the savages; knew their ways, and how to rule them by address and eloquence. On his excursions he fared no better than the humblest of his people, and took more pains than any one to inspirit them; let him but have protection, and he will found colonies more considerable than all which the French have as yet established."

La Salle could now make his own proposition to the government, and he suited it to the state of the times. His plan was, to place himself with absolute power in command of an expedition for the purpose of founding on the Mississippi, at or not many miles from the site of the present New Orleans, a post from which the French might readily enter the Gulf of Mexico. As France and Spain were then at war, he further offered to ascend to his fort St. Louis, to collect there thousands of Indians whom he professed to know how to govern, and, with them and fifty West Indian buccaneers, and French troops to be committed to his command, to take possession of the silver mines of New Biscay, of which nothing was known, but which were reputed to be wonderfully rich. The expedition, except at the outset, was to provide its own means of permanent success.

More was accorded to him than he had asked. But Beau-

jeu, the commander of the squadron which was to transport his party, was inflamed by envy, and entreated of Seignelay the command of the expedition for himself. Seignelay, in reply, enjoined on him to promote the enterprise by every means that depended on him, adding: "Be not chagrined about the command; otherwise, nothing will more certainly shipwreck the enterprise." But Beaujeu breathed nothing but bitter, inveterate hostility, at a time when it could breed nothing but evil. In the narrowness of his mind, he continued to revile La Salle as without experience; without rank; the comrade of wretched school-boys; without the manners of a gentleman; of a crazed intellect; and he persistently entreated his own friends to persuade the friends of La Salle that he was not the man they took him for. His fixed purpose was the overthrow of the man whom he had not been able to supersede.

Henri Joutel, a soldier and a very upright man, who, like La Salle, was a native of Rouen, volunteered to serve under his command; he was destined to become the historian of the expedition. As the squadron sailed, La Salle wrote to his mother: "I passionately hope that the result of the voyage may contribute as much to your repose and comfort as I desire."

On the first of August 1684, the squadron finally sailed, and, on the fifteenth of that month, a truce for twenty years was established at Ratisbon between France and Spain. Nothing remained for La Salle but to carry out his own original plan of founding a colony on the Mississippi; but the preparations had the double character of a military force, and a peaceful company for the planting of Louisiana.

Four vessels bore two hundred and eighty persons to take possession of the valley. Of these, one hundred were soldiers; about thirty were volunteers, two of whom were nephews to La Salle. Of ecclesiastics, there were three Franciscans and three of St. Sulpice, one of them being brother to La Salle. There were, moreover, mechanics of various skill; and the presence of young women proved the design of permanent colonization. But the mechanics were poor workmen, ill versed in their art; the soldiers were without discipline, without experience, and without proper officers; the volunteers were restless with indefinite expectations.

The little squadron, borne along by the trade-winds, proceeded to San Domingo with fair weather, under the enchanting influence of the brilliant skies and the tropical ocean sparkling with drops of fire; but throughout the passage there was an unrelenting war between Beaujeu and La Salle. Beaujeu wilfully passed beyond the port in San Domingo at which he should have halted, and, by hurrying to Petit Goave, which was reached on the twenty-seventh of September, the ketch laden with food and tools and other stores for La Salle's expedition, fell a prey to the Spanish. The loss was irreparable.

On stepping on shore, La Salle fell desperately ill with fever. "If he dies, I shall pursue a course different from that which he has marked out," wrote Beaujeu to Seignelay.

No sooner had La Salle thrown off the fever than, gathering such information as he could from buccaneers who had been in the Gulf of Mexico, he desired to proceed to his task. As he knew not the longitude of the mouths of the Mississippi, the voyage was an attempt at their discovery from the sea.

Instead of remaining with Beaujeu in the Joly, La Salle went on board the smaller Aimable, and they both embarked on the twenty-eighth of November. The separation wrought new confusion. Besides, Beaujeu had, of his own will, brought the expedition to the westernmost side of San Domingo; and, instead of turning the capes of Florida, which would have led directly to the Mississippi, it was necessary to coast along southern Cuba till Cape Antonio was doubled. From that point a course nearly north-west brought La Salle, on the sixth of January, in sight of the shore near Galveston. In those days all believed the gulf stream flowed with great swiftness to the straits of Bahama, and under the fear of being borne too far to the east, La Salle sailed still farther to the west, until he was between Matagorda island and Corpus Christi bay. For seventeen days he and the naval commander had been separated. On the nineteenth, they formed a junction, criminating each other for the time that had been lost. La Salle was now sure that they were to the west of the principal mouth of the river for which he was searching, and was desirous to retrace his steps, but could come to no understanding with Beaujeu.

A month of indecision passed away, and La Salle, having

no hope of the co-operation of Beaujeu in discovering the true mouth of the Mississippi, resolved to land his party on the waters which he believed connected with that river. The shallow entrance into the harbor was carefully surveyed and marked out; but when, on the twentieth of February, the store-ship Aimable, under its own captain, attempted to enter the harbor, it struck the bar and was hopelessly wrecked.

La Salle, calming his grief at the sudden ruin of his boundless hopes, borrowed boats from the fleet to save, at least, some present supplies. But with night came a gale of wind, and the vessel was dashed in pieces. The stores lay scattered on the sea; little could be saved. Savages came down to pilfer, and murdered two of the volunteers.

The fleet set sail, and there remained on the beach of Matagorda a desponding company of about two hundred and thirty, huddled together in a fort constructed of the fragments of their shipwrecked vessel, having no resource but in the constancy and elastic genius of La Salle.

Ascending the Lavacca, a small stream at the west of the bay, La Salle selected a site on the open ground for the establishment of a fortified post. The gentle slope, which he named St. Louis, showed, toward the west and south-west a boundless landscape, verdant with luxuriant grasses and dotted with groves of forest-trees; south and east was the bay of Matagorda, skirted with prairies. The waters, which abounded in fish, attracted flocks of wild fowl; the fields were alive with deer and bisons and wild turkeys, and the deadly rattlesnake, bright inhabitant of the meadows. There, under the suns of June, with timber felled in an inland grove and dragged for a league over the prairie-grass, the colonists prepared to build a shelter, La Salle being the architect and himself marking the beams and tenons and mortises. With parts of the wreck brought up in canoes, a second house was framed, and of each the roof was covered with buffalo skins. Thus France took possession of Texas; her arms were carved on its trees; and by no treaty or public document or map did she give up her right to the province until she resigned the whole of Louisiana to Spain.

Excursions into the vicinity of the fort discovered nothing but the productiveness of the country. In December, La

Salle went to seek the Mississippi with the aid of canoes; and, after an absence of about four months and the loss of twelve or thirteen men, in March 1686, he returned in rags, having failed to find "the fatal river." In April, he plunged into the wilderness, with twenty companions; in the northern part of Texas he found the numerous nation of the Cenis, all hostile to the Spaniards. He only succeeded in obtaining five horses and supplies of maize and beans; but learned nothing of mines.

On his return, he was told of the wreck of the bark which Louis XIV. had given him, and which he had left with the colony: he heard it unmoved. Heaven and man seemed his enemies. Having lost his hopes of fortune and of fame; with his colony diminished to about forty, among whom discontent gave birth to plans of crime; with no Europeans nearer than the river Panuco, no French nearer than Illinois—he, with the energy of an indomitable will, resolved to travel on foot to his countrymen at the north, and find means of relieving his colony in Texas.

Leaving twenty men at Fort St. Louis, in January 1687, with sixteen men, he departed for Canada. Lading their baggage on the wild horses from the Cenis, which found their pasture everywhere in the prairies; in shoes made of green buffalo hides; following the track of the buffalo, and using skins as their only shelter against rain; winning favor with the savages by the confiding courage of their leader—they ascended the streams toward the first ridge of highlands, walking through prairies and groves, among deer and buffaloes—now fording clear rivulets, now building a bridge by felling a giant tree across a stream—till they reached a branch of Trinity river. In the little company of wanderers, two men, Duhaut and L'Archevêque, had embarked their capital in the enterprise. Of these, Duhaut had long shown a spirit of mutiny and ungovernable hatred. Inviting Moranget to take charge of the fruits of a buffalo hunt, they quarrelled with him and murdered him. Wondering at the delay of his nephew's return, La Salle, on the twentieth of March, went to seek him. At the brink of the river he observed eagles hovering as if over carrion; and he fired an alarm gun. Warned by the sound, Duhaut and L'Archevêque crossed the river; the former

skulked in the prairie grass; of the latter, La Salle asked: "Where is my nephew?" At the moment of the answer, Duhaut fired; and, without uttering a word, La Salle fell dead. "There you are, grand bashaw! there you are!" shouted one of the conspirators as they despoiled his remains, which were left on the prairie, naked and without burial, to be devoured by wild beasts. For force of will and daring conceptions; for various knowledge and quick adaptation to untried circumstances; for energy of purpose and unfaltering courage—this resolute adventurer had no superior among his countrymen. He won the affection of the governor of Canada, the esteem of Colbert, the confidence of Seignelay, the favor of Louis XIV. After beginning the occupation of Upper Canada, he perfected the discovery of the Mississippi from the falls of St. Anthony to its mouth; and he is remembered as the father of colonization in the great central valley of the West.*

But avarice and passion were not calmed by the blood of La Salle. Duhaut and another of the assassins, grasping at an unequal share in the spoils, were themselves murdered, while their reckless associates joined a band of savages. Joutel, with the brother and surviving nephew of La Salle, and others, in all but seven, obtained a guide to the Arkansas; and, fording rivulets, crossing ravines, by rafts or boats of buffalo hides making a ferry over rivers, not meeting the cheering custom of the calumet till they reached the country above the Red river, leaving a faithful companion in a wilderness grave, on the twenty-fourth of July 1687, so many of them as survived came upon a great tributary of the Mississippi, and beheld on an island a large cross. Never did Christian gaze on that emblem with heartier joy. Near it stood a log hut, tenanted by two Frenchmen. The ever-to-be-remembered Henri de Tonti had descended the river, and, full of grief at not finding La Salle, had established a post on the Arkansas.

* Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1614–1754). Par Pierre Margry. These three volumes increase what was known of Jolliet and exhaust the documents on La Salle.

CHAPTER XI.

THE RIVALRY OF FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN IN AMERICA.

Bad as was the condition of affairs of France in the valley of the Mississippi, it was hardly better on the banks of the St. Lawrence. To secure its inland connections, France needed the alliance of the Five Nations; but they were irresistibly attracted to New York, because they found there the best market for their furs and the cheapest for their supplies.

To remonstrances from De la Barre, the Senecas answered: "We have not wandered from our paths, but when the governor of Canada threatens us with war, shall we give way? Our beaver-hunters are brave men, and the beaver hunt must be free." Meanwhile, De la Barre advanced with a large force to the fort which stood near the outlet of the present Rideau canal. But the bad air of August on the marshy borders of Lake Ontario disabled his army; and, after crossing the lake, and disembarking his wasted troops in the land of the Onondagas, he was compelled to solicit peace.

The deputies of the tribes, repairing to the presence of De la Barre, exulted in his humiliation. "It is well for you," said the eloquent Haaskouaun, as he rose from smoking the calumet, "that you have left under ground the hatchet which has so often been dyed in the blood of the French. Our children and old men would have carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp, if our braves had not kept them back. Our warriors have not beaver enough to pay for the arms we have taken from the French; and our old men are not afraid of war. We have the right to guide the English to our lakes. We are born free. We depend neither on the English nor the French." Dismayed by the energy of the Seneca chief, the

governor of Canada accepted a treaty which left his allies at the mercy of their enemies.

Fresh troops arrived from France; and De la Barre was superseded by the marquis of Denonville. The advice of the new governor, on his arrival in 1685, was that New York might be acquired by purchase, saying that James II., being dependent for money on Louis XIV., might very well sell him the whole province. In a treaty of November 1686, the English king agreed that neither of the two sovereigns should assist the Indian tribes with whom the other might be at war.

"The welfare of my service," such were the instructions of Louis XIV. to his new governor,* "requires that the number of the Iroquois should be diminished as much as possible. They are strong and robust, and can be made useful as galley-slaves. Do what you can to take a large number of them prisoners of war, and ship them for France." In the course of 1687, forty-one of the warriors of the Five Nations † were sent across the ocean to be chained to the oar in the galleys of Marseilles.

An incursion into the country of the Senecas, under Denonville, followed. The savages retired into remoter forests; the domain was overrun without resistance; but, as the French army withdrew, the wilderness remained to its old inhabitants. The Senecas in their turn made a descent upon their ruthless enemy; and the Onondagas threatened war. "The French governor has stolen our sachems; he has broken," said they, "the covenant of peace." And Haaskouaun, in 1688, advances with five hundred warriors to dictate the terms of peace. "I have always loved the French," said the proud chieftain to the foes whom he scorned. "Our warriors proposed to come and burn your forts, your houses, your granges, and your corn; to weaken you by famine, and then to overwhelm you. I am come to tell Onondio he can escape this misery if within four days he will yield to the terms which Corlear has proposed." Twelve hundred Iroquois were already on Lake St. Francis; in two days they could reach Montreal. The haughty condescension of the Seneca chief was accepted, and the return of the Iroquois chiefs conceded.

* Louis XIV., 31 July, 1684. N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., ix., 233.

† Shea's Charlevoix, iii., 275, and note, 276.

A year passes, and the conditions of the treaty had not been fulfilled, and, on the twenty-fifth of August 1689, the Iroquois, fifteen hundred in number, reached the isle of Montreal at La Chine at break of day. Finding all asleep, they set fire to the houses, and in less than an hour killed two hundred people with most skilfully devised forms of cruelty; they never were masters of the city, but they roamed unmolested over the island until the middle of October, and, when they retired, took with them one hundred and twenty prisoners. In the moment of consternation Denonville, almost as his last act as governor, ordered Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario to be evacuated and razed. From Three Rivers to Mackinaw there remained hardly one French post. Before the danger was at its height, Denonville wrote: "God alone could have saved Canada this year."

France and Great Britain had for nearly a century been rivals in North America. The English revolution of 1688 impressed on that rivalry a new form. The kings of France had thrown off the control of the states general of the kingdom, and Louis XIV. stood in Europe as the impersonation of absolute power; and the other sovereigns on the continent, even to the pettiest ruling prince, took him for their model. In England, the parliament had not only preserved its ancient rights, but made itself the master of the government. Henceforward the rivalry between England and France assumed the character of a rivalry between unlimited monarchy and a power which was the representative, though the imperfect representative, of the nation. England, the representative of a monarchy not so much limited as controlled by her parliament, became the forerunner of liberty for all civilized states. She was the star of hope for the European world. Moreover, her legislative branch was divided into two separate chambers, which were each a check on the other. Thus, England gave to the world the perpetual possession of the two fundamental and necessary principles of a strong and free government: the control of the executive power by a national legislature, and the division of that legislature into two branches, as a check and a support to each other, as well as to the executive power.

The aristocratic revolution of England was the signal for a

war with France. Louis XIV. refused to acquiesce in the revolution, and took up arms at once for the assertion of the indefeasible right of the Stuarts to the throne of Great Britain, and for the acquisition of territory from his neighbors. England had the glorious office of asserting the right of a nation to reform its government.

Let it be left to European historians to preserve so much of the deeds in Europe of this first war of revolution as merit to be remembered. The narrative of its events in America is but a picture of sorrows followed by no result. The idea of weakening an adversary by encouraging its colonies to assert independence did not as yet exist; European statesmanship assumed that they must have a master; and in America, England, by sharing her own liberties with her colonies, bound them to herself by pride and affection.

The French in Canada and its dependencies were so inferior in number to the English in their twelve continuous colonies along the sea, that they could make forays and ravage but not conquests; and would have easily been overpowered but for the difficulty of reaching them.

To protect Acadia, the Jesuits Vincent and James Bigot collected a village of Abenakis on the Penobscot; and a flourishing town now marks the spot where the Baron de Saint-Castin, a veteran officer of the regiment of Carignan, established a trading fort. Would France, it was said, strengthen its post on the Penobscot, occupy the islands that command the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and send supplies to Newfoundland, she would be sole mistress of the cod fisheries. The French missionaries, swaying the mind of the Abenakis, gave hope of them as allies.

In the east, at Cocheco, thirteen years before, an unsuspecting party of Indians had been shipped for Boston, to be sold into foreign slavery. The emissaries of Castin roused the tribe of Penacook to revenge. On the evening of the twenty-seventh of June, two squaws repaired to the house of Richard Waldron, and the octogenarian magistrate, who was a trader, bade them lodge on the floor. At night they unbar the gates for their companions. "What now? what now?" shouted the brave old man; and, seizing his sword, he defended himself till he fell stunned by a blow from a hatchet. They then

placed him in a chair on a table in his own hall: "Judge Indians again!" thus they mocked him; and, making sport of their debts to him, they drew gashes across his breast, each one saying, "Thus I cross out my account!" The Indians, having burned his house and others near it, and killed twenty-three persons, returned to the wilderness with twenty-nine captives.

In August, the Indian women and children, at the Penobscot mission of Canibas, uplift in prayer hands purified by confession; in their little chapel, the missionary and his neophytes have established a perpetual rosary, while a hundred warriors, in a fleet of bark canoes, steal out of the Penobscot, and paddle toward Pemaquid. Thomas Gyles and his sons, in the sunny noontide, are making hay; a volley whistles by them; a short encounter ends in their defeat. "I ask no favor," says the wounded father, "but leave to pray with my children." Pale with the loss of blood, he commends his children to God, then bids them farewell for this world, in the hope of seeing them in a better; and falls by the hatchet. After a defence of two days, the stockade at Pemaquid capitulates; and the warriors return to Penobscot with prisoners. Other inroads were made by the Penobscot and St. John Indians, so that the settlements east of Falmouth were deserted.

Soon after the outbreak of the war, Count Frontenac was appointed once more governor of Canada. His instructions of the seventh of June 1689 charged him to recover Hudson's bay; to protect Acadia; and, by a descent from Canada, to assist a fleet from France in making conquest of New York. Of that province De Callières was, in advance, appointed governor; the English Catholics were to be permitted to remain; other inhabitants to be sent into Pennsylvania or New England. On the twelfth of October, Frontenac arrived at Quebec just in time to witness the complete desolation to which New France had been reduced by the incapacity of Denonville. Drawing to his aid his own experience, he used every effort to win the Five Nations to neutrality or to friendship. To recover esteem in their eyes, and to secure to Durantaye, the commander at Mackinaw, the means of treating with the Hurons and the Ottawas, it was resolved by Frontenac to make a triple descent into the English provinces.

In 1690, a party of one hundred and ten, composed of French and of Christian Iroquois—having De Mantet and Sainte Hélène as leaders, and Iberville as a volunteer—for two-and-twenty days travelled over the snows to Schenectady. The village had given itself to slumber; the invaders entered silently through unguarded gates just before midnight, raised the war-whoop, and set the dwellings on fire. Of the inhabitants, some, half-clad, fled through the snows to Albany; sixty were massacred, of whom seventeen were children and ten were Africans.

A party from Three Rivers, led by Hertel de Rouville, consisting of fifty-two persons, of whom three were his sons and two his nephews, surprised the settlement at Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua, and, after a bloody engagement, burned houses, barns, and cattle in the stalls, and took fifty-four prisoners, chiefly women and children. The prisoners were laden by the victors with spoils from their own homes.

Returning from this expedition, Hertel met a war-party from Quebec, and, with them and a re-enforcement from Castin, made a successful attack on the settlement in Casco bay.

Meantime, danger taught the colonies the need of union. In March 1690, the idea of a colonial "congress," familiar from the times when wars with the Susquehannahs brought agents of Virginia and Maryland to New York, arose at Albany. On the eighteenth of that month, letters were despatched from the general court of Massachusetts "to the several governors of the neighboring colonies, desiring them to appoint commissioners to meet at Rhode Island on the last Monday in April next, there to advise and conclude on suitable methods in assisting each other for the safety of the whole land, and that the governor of New York be desired to signify the same to Maryland, and parts adjacent." Leisler heartily favored the design; the place of meeting was changed to New York; and there, on the first day of May, commissioners from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York came together by their own independent acts. In that assembly it was resolved to attempt the conquest of Canada by sending an army over Lake Champlain against Montreal, while Massachusetts should attack Quebec with a fleet.

Before the end of May, Sir William Phips sailed to Port Royal, now Annapolis, which readily surrendered; but, in the following year, it was retaken by a French ship. In August, an Indian announced at Montreal that an army of Iroquois and English was constructing canoes on Lake George; immediately Frontenac placed the hatchet in the hands of his allies, and, with the tomahawk in his own grasp, old as he was, chanted the war-song and danced the war-dance. On the twenty-ninth, it was said that an army had reached Lake Champlain; but the projected attack by land was defeated by divisions and mutual criminations of Leisler and Winthrop, of Connecticut.

Frontenac was preparing to return to Quebec, when, on the tenth of October, an Abenaki, hurrying through the woods in twelve days from Piscataqua, gave warning of a fleet which was on the way from Boston. Massachusetts had sent forth under Phips a fleet of thirty-four sail, manned by two thousand of its citizens, who, without pilots, were sounding their way up the St. Lawrence.

In the night before the fifteenth of October, Frontenac reached Quebec, and the fortifications of the city had been made tenable, when, on the sixteenth, soon after daybreak, the fleet from Boston cast anchor near Beauport, in the stream. It arrived too late. The herald from the ship of the admiral, demanding a surrender of the place, was dismissed with scoffs. What could avail the courage of the citizen soldiers who effected a landing at Beauport? Before them was a fortified town defended by a garrison far more numerous than the assailants, and the concerted plan against Montreal had failed. On the twenty-first, the New England men re-embarked for Boston. At Quebec, the church of Our Lady of Victory was built in the lower town in commemoration of the event; and in France a medal was struck in honor of the successes of Louis XIV. in the New World. The New England ships, on their way home, were scattered by storms: one, bearing sixty men, was wrecked on Anticosti. Sir William Phips reached Boston in November. The treasury was empty; to meet the cost of the expedition, in December, bills of credit, in notes from five shillings to five pounds, were issued, to "be in value equal to money, and accepted in all public payments." Distrust im-

peded their circulation, and yet new emissions followed; so the bills were made in all payments a legal tender.

Repulsed from Canada, the exhausted colonies for the rest of the war attempted little more than the defence of their frontiers. Their borders were full of terror and sorrow, of captivity and death; but no designs of conquest were formed. Schuyler, in 1691, made an irruption into the French settlements on the Sorel, gained successes in a skirmish, and effected a safe retreat. In January 1692, a party of French and Indians, coming on snow-shoes from the east, burst upon the town of York, offering its inhabitants no choice but captivity or death. The British fort which was rebuilt at Pemaquid was, at least, an assertion of supremacy over the neighboring region. In England the conquest of Canada was resolved upon. In 1693, the British squadron designed for the expedition, after a repulse at Martinique, arrived at Boston; but it came freighted with yellow fever of so malignant a type that a very large part of the mariners and soldiers on board were its victims. In August, hostilities in Maine were suspended by a treaty of peace with the Abenakis; but in less than a year, solely through the influence of the Jesuits, they were again in the field, and from the village at Oyster river, in New Hampshire, ninety-four persons were killed or carried away. The chiefs of the Micmacs presented to Frontenac the scalps of English killed on the Piscataqua. Nor did the thought occur that such inroads were atrocious. The Jesuit historian of France relates with pride, that they had their origin in the counsels and influence of the missionaries Thury and Bigot; extols the success of the foray; and passes a eulogy on the deeds of Taxus, the bravest of the Abenakis.

Once, indeed, a mother achieved a startling revenge. In March 1697, the Indian prowlers raised their shouts near the house of Hannah Dustin, of Haverhill, seven days after her confinement. Her husband rode home from the field, but too late for her rescue. He must fly, if he would save even one of his seven children, who had hurried before him into the forest. But, from the cowering flock, how could a father make a choice? With gun in his hand, he now repels the assault, now cheers on the little ones, as they rustle through

the dry leaves, till all reach a shelter. The Indians burned his home, dashed his new-born child against a tree; and, after weary marches, Hannah Dustin and her nurse, with a boy from Worcester, find themselves on an island in the Merrimack, just above Concord, in a wigwam occupied by two Indian families. The mother planned escape. "Where would you strike, to kill instantly?" asked the boy, Samuel Leonardson, of his master, and the Indian told him where and how to scalp. At night, while the household slumbers, the two women and the boy, each with a tomahawk, strike fleetly, and with wise division of labor; and, of the twelve sleepers, ten lie dead; of one squaw the wound was not mortal; one child was spared from design. Taking the gun and tomahawk of the murderer of her infant, and a bag heaped full with the scalps of the slain, the three, in a bark canoe, descended the Merrimack to the English settlements, filling the land with wonder at their deed.

In the late summer of 1696, the fort of Pemaquid was taken by Iberville and Castin. The frontier of French dominion was extended into the heart of Maine.

After the hope of conquering Canada was abandoned by the English, Frontenac had little strife but with the Five Nations, whom he alternately endeavored to win, or to terrify into an alliance. In February 1692, three hundred French, with Indian confederates, were sent against hunting-parties of the Senecas in Upper Canada. In January and February of the following year, a larger party entered the country of the Mohawks, bent on their extermination. The first castle and the second fell easily, for the war-chiefs were absent; at the third, forty, who were dancing a war-dance, gave battle, and victory cost the invaders thirty men. The governor of Montreal had ordered no quarter to be given, unless to women and children; the savage confederates insisted on showing mercy. This the French historian censures "as inexcusable;" for Schuyler, of Albany, collecting two hundred men, and pursuing the party as it retired, succeeded in liberating many of the captives.

Nor did the Five Nations continue their control over western commerce. In 1695, after many vacillations, the prudence of the memorable La Motte Cadillac, who had been appointed governor at Mackinaw, confirmed the friendship of the neigh-

boring tribes; and a party of Ottawas, Pottawatomies, and Ojibwas surprised and routed a band of Iroquois, returning with scalps and piles of beaver.

But the Indians of the West would not rally under the banner of France; and, in 1696, the French of Canada, aided only by their immediate allies, made their last inroad into western New York. Frontenac, then seventy-four years of age, conducted the army. On the twenty-ninth of July, from the fort which bore his name and which he had restored, they passed over to Oswego, at night reached the falls three leagues above its mouth, and, by the light of bark torches, dragged the canoes and boats across the portage. As they advanced they found fourteen hundred and thirty-four reeds, tied in two bundles to a tree, announcing that that number of warriors defied them. As they approached the great village of the Onondagas, the nation set fire to it and retired. Early in August, the army encamped near the Salt Springs at Salina, while a party was sent to ravage the country of the Oneidas, kill all who should offer resistance, and take six chiefs as hostages. Meantime, an aged Onondaga, who had refused to fly, was abandoned to the allies of the French. During all the tortures that more than four hundred savages could inflict, the decrepit old man scoffed at them as the slaves of those whom he despised. On receiving mortal wounds, his last words were: "You should have taken more time, so as to learn how to meet death manfully! I die contented; for I have no cause for self-reproach."

Leaving the Onondagas and Oneidas to suffer from famine, yet to retain their spirit and recover their lands, Frontenac, with his forces, went back to Montreal.

During the war, England, by a decree, had, without a blockade, closed all the ports of France against every foreign ship. The English exchequer had been recruited by means of a great change in the internal and the financial policy of England. In 1694, it accepted from individuals a loan of one and a half million pounds sterling, paying for it eight per cent per annum, and incorporating the subscribers to the loan as the Bank of England, with the privilege of issuing notes for circulation.

France had sustained itself well in the war, gaining victories in the field and in diplomacy, and in Europe rounding off

its territory by the acquisition of Strassburg, on the Rhine. But in September 1697, at the peace which was made at Ryswick between France and England, Louis XIV. recognised the revolutionary sovereign of England as its king; but in America he retained all of which he was in possession at the beginning of the war. The boundary lines were to be established by commissioners. England claimed to the St. Croix, and France to the Kennebec; and, had peace continued, the St. George would have been adopted as a compromise.

The boundary between New France and New York was difficult of adjustment. In the negotiations for the restoration of prisoners, Lord Bellomont, the governor of New York, vainly sought to obtain an acknowledgment that the Iroquois were subject to England. They themselves asserted their independence. Their religious sympathies inclined them to the French, but commercial advantages brought them into connection with the English. As the influence of the Jesuits gave to France its only power over the Five Nations, the legislature of New York, in 1700, made a law for hanging every popish priest that should come voluntarily into the province, of which the land of the Iroquois was held to be a part.

After many collisions and acts of hostility between the Iroquois and the allies of the French, especially the Ottawas; after many ineffectual attempts, on the part of Lord Bellomont, to constitute himself the arbiter of peace, and thus to obtain an acknowledged ascendency—the four upper nations, in the summer of 1700, sent envoys to Montreal "to weep for the French who had died in the war." After rapid negotiations, peace was ratified between the Iroquois on the one side, and France and her Indian allies on the other. The Rat, chief of the Hurons from Mackinaw, said: "I lay down the axe at my father's feet;" and the deputies of the four tribes of Ottawas echoed his words. The envoy of the Abenakis said: "I have no hatchet but that of my father, and, since my father has buried it, now I have none;" the Christian Iroquois assented. To a written treaty each nation placed its symbol: the Senecas and Onondagas drew a spider; the Cayugas, a calumet; the Oneidas, a forked stick; the Mohawks, a bear; the Hurons, a beaver; the Abenakis, a deer; and the Ottawas, a hare. It

was further declared that war should cease between the French allies and the Sioux; that peace should reach beyond the Mississippi. As to limits in western New York, De Callières advised the French minister to assert French jurisdiction over the land of the Iroquois, or at least to establish its neutrality.

In the month of June 1701, De la Motte Cadillac, with a Jesuit missionary and one hundred Frenchmen, was sent to take possession of Detroit. This is the oldest permanent settlement in Michigan. Near the fort, place was made for the remnant of the Hurons; and higher up the river in Upper Canada rose a settlement of the Ottawas, their inseparable companions.

The occupation of Illinois by the French continued without interruption. Joutel found a garrison at Fort St. Louis in 1687; in 1689, La Hontan bears testimony that it was still there; in 1696, a public document proves its existence, and the wish of Louis XIV. for its welfare; and when, in 1700, Tonti again descended the Mississippi, he was attended by twenty Canadians from Illinois. But in what year the mission established by Marquette removed its seat, is not known.

The permanent settlement at Vincennes belongs to the year 1702.* It is the oldest village in Indiana.

There is no mention of the time when the Jesuit missionary Mermet assisted the commandant Jucherau, from Canada, in collecting Indians and Canadians, and founding the first French post on the Ohio, or, as the lower part of that river was then called, the Wabash. A contagious disease invaded the mixed population and broke up the settlement.

The missionaries encountered with dismay the horror of life in the vast, uninhabited regions where in a journey of twelve days not a soul was met. In 1711, the Jesuit Marest writes: "There was no village, no bridge, no ferry, no boat, no house, no beaten path; we travelled over prairies, intersected by rivulets and rivers; through forests and thickets filled with briers and thorns; through marshes, where we plunged sometimes to the girdle. At night, repose was sought on the grass, or on leaves, exposed to wind and rain; by the side of some rivulet, of which a draught might quench thirst. A meal was prepared from such game as was killed on the way, or by roasting ears of corn."

* Inhabitants of Post Vincennes to General Gage, 18 Sept. 1772. MS.

At the mission at Kaskaskia, at early dawn, the pupils came to church, dressed neatly and modestly, each in a large deer-skin, or in a robe stitched together from smaller peltry. After receiving lessons, they chanted canticles; mass was then said in presence of all the Christians in the place, the French and the converts—the women on one side, the men on the other. From prayer and instruction the missionaries proceeded to visit the sick; and their skill as physicians did more than all the rest to win confidence. In the afternoon, the catechism was taught in presence of the young and the old, and every one, without distinction of rank or age, answered the questions of the missionary. At evening, all would assemble at the chapel for instruction, prayer, and to chant the hymns of the church. On Sundays and festivals, even after vespers, a homily was pronounced; at the close of the day, parties would meet in the cabins to recite the chaplet in alternate choirs, and sing psalms into the night. Their psalms were often homilies, with the words set to familiar tunes. Saturday and Sunday were the days for confession and communion, and every convert confessed once in a fortnight. Marriages of the French with the daughters of the Illinois were sometimes solemnized according to the rites of the Catholic church. The mission was a cantonment of Europeans among the native proprietors of the prairies.

The honor of colonizing the south-west of our republic belongs to the illustrious Canadian, Lemoine Iberville. The most skilful naval officer in the service of France, the idol of his countrymen, after the peace of Ryswick he sought and obtained a commission for establishing direct intercourse between France and the Mississippi.

On the seventeenth day of October 1698, two frigates and two smaller vessels, with a company of marines and about two hundred settlers, including a few women and children—most of the men being disbanded Canadian soldiers—embarked for the Mississippi. Happier than La Salle, the leader of the enterprise won confidence everywhere: the governor of San Domingo gave him a welcome, and bore a willing testimony to his genius and his good judgment. A larger ship-of-war from that station joined the expedition, which, in January 1699,

caught a glimpse of the continent, and anchored before the island St. Rose. On the opposite shore, the fort of Pensacola had just been established by three hundred Spaniards from Vera Cruz. This prior occupation is the reason why, afterward, Pensacola remained a part of Florida, and the dividing line between that province and Louisiana was drawn between the bays of Pensacola and Mobile. Obedient to his orders, the governor of Pensacola would allow no foreign vessel to enter the harbor. Sailing to the west, Iberville cast anchor south-south-east of the eastern point of Mobile, and landed on Massacre, or, as it was rather called, Dauphine island. The water between Ship and Horn islands being found too shallow, the larger ship from the station of San Domingo returned, and the frigates anchored near the groups of the Chandeleur, while Iberville with his people erected huts on Ship island, and made the discovery of the river Pascagoula and the tribes of Biloxi. The next day, a party of Bayagoulas from the Mississippi passed by: they were warriors returning from a foray on the Indians of Mobile.

In two barges, Iberville and his brother Bienville, with a Franciscan who had been a companion to La Salle, and with forty-eight men, set forth to seek the Mississippi. Floating trees, and the turbid aspect of the waters, guided to its mouth. On the second day in March, they entered the mighty river, and ascended to the village of the Bayagoulas—a tribe which then dwelt on its western bank, just below the river Iberville, worshipping, it was said, an opossum for their manitou, and preserving in their temple an undying fire. There they found a letter from Tonti to La Salle, written in 1686. The Oumas were visited; and the party probably saw the great bend at the mouth of the Red river. A parish and a bayou, that bear the name of Iberville, mark the route of his return, through the lakes which he named Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the bay which he called St. Louis. At the head of the bay of Biloxi, on a sandy shore, under a burning sun, he erected, in May, the fort which, with its four bastions and twelve cannon, was to be the sign of French jurisdiction over the territory from near the Rio Bravo del Norte to the confines of Pensacola. While Iberville himself sailed for France, his

brother, Bienville, and Sauvolle, were left in command of the station, round which the few colonists were planted. Thus began the commonwealth of Mississippi. Prosperity was impossible; yet there were gleams of light: the white men from Carolina, allies of the Chicasas, invaded the neighboring tribes of Indians, making it easy for the French to establish alliances. Missionaries had already conciliated the good-will of remoter nations; and, from the Taensas and the Yazoos, Davion—whose name belonged of old to the rock now called Fort Adams—and Montigny floated down the Mississippi to visit their countrymen. A line of communication existed between Quebec and the Gulf of Mexico. The boundless southern region, made a part of the French empire by lilies carved on forest-trees or crosses erected on bluffs, and occupied by French missionaries and forest rangers, was annexed to the command of the governor of Biloxi.

During the absence of Iberville, England showed jealousy of his enterprise. Hennepin had been taken into the pay of William III., and, in 1698, had published a new work, in which, to bar the French claim of discovery, he, with impudent falsehood, insisted on having himself been the first to descend the Mississippi, and had interpolated into his former narrative a journal of this pretended voyage down the river. In 1699, an exploring expedition, under the auspices of Coxe, a proprietor of New Jersey, sought for the mouths of the Mississippi. When Bienville, who passed the summer in exploring the forks below the site of New Orleans, descended the river in September, he met an English ship of sixteen guns, commanded by Barr; one of two vessels which had been sent to sound the channel of the stream. Giving heed to the assertion of Bienville of French supremacy, as proved by French establishments, the English captain turned back; and the bend in the river where the interview was held is still called English Turn.

Thus failed the project of Coxe to possess what he styled the English province of Carolana. But Hennepin had had an audience of William III.; a memorial from Coxe was presented to the king in council, and the members were unanimous in the opinion that the settling of the banks of the Mississippi should be encouraged. William of Orange often assured

the proprietor of his willingness to send over, at his own cost, several hundred Huguenot and Vaudois refugees. But England was never destined to acquire more than a nominal possession of the Mississippi; and Spain could only protest against what it professed to regard as a dismemberment of Mexico.

In 1699, Bienville received the memorial of French Protestants to be allowed, under French sovereignty and in the enjoyment of freedom of conscience, to plant the banks of the Mississippi. "The king," answered Pontchartrain at Paris, "has not driven Protestants from France to make a republic of them in America;" and Iberville returned from Europe with projects far unlike the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. First came the occupation of the Mississippi by a fortress built, in January 1700, on a point elevated above the marshes, not far from the sea, soon to be abandoned. In February, Tonti came down from the Illinois; and, under his guidance, the brothers Iberville and Bienville ascended the Great River and made peace between the Oumas and the Bayagoulas. Among the Natchez, the Great Sun, followed by a large retinue of his people, welcomed the strangers.

Iberville in March explored western Louisiana, and, crossing the Red river, approached New Mexico. No tidings of mines or of wealth were gleaned from the natives. In April, a company under Le Sueur, in search of mineral stores, entered the St. Peter's, ascended that river to the confluence of the Blue Earth, and, in a fort among Iowas, passed a fruitless winter.

Le Sueur had not yet returned to Biloxi when, in May 1701, word came from the impatient ministry of impoverished France that certainly there were gold mines on the Missouri. But bilious fevers sent death among the dreamers who went there for precious metals and rocks of emerald. Sauvolle was an early victim, leaving the chief command to the youthful Bienville; and great havoc was made among the colonists, who were dependent on the red men for corn, and were saved from famine by the chase and the net and line. The Choctas and the Mobile Indians desired an alliance against the Chicasas; and the French were too weak to act, except as mediators. In December, Iberville, arriving with re-enforcements, found but one hundred and fifty alive.

Early in 1702, the chief fortress of the French was transferred from Biloxi to the western bank of the Mobile river, the first settlement of Europeans in Alabama; and during the same season, though Dauphine island was flat, and covered with sands which hardly nourished a grove of pines, its excellent harbor was occupied as a convenient station for ships. Such was Louisiana in the days of its founder. Attacked by the yellow fever, Iberville escaped with broken health; and, though he gained strength to render service to France in 1706, the effort was followed by a severe illness, which terminated in his death at the Havana. In him, the colonies and the French navy lost a hero worthy of their regret. But Louisiana, at his departure, was little more than a wilderness, occupied in behalf of the French king by scarcely thirty families. The colonists were unwise in their objects, searching for pearls, for the wool of the buffalo, for mines. There was no quiet agricultural industry. The coast of Biloxi is as sandy as the deserts of Libya; the soil on Dauphine island is meagre: on the delta of the Mississippi, where a fort had been built, Bienville and his few soldiers were at the mercy of the rise and fall of the river. The hissing of snakes, the cry of alligators, seemed to claim the country still for a generation as the inheritance of reptiles; while the barrens round the fort of Mobile warned the emigrants to seek homes farther within the land.

CHAPTER XII.

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

In the first war of William III. with France, Spain took no part; we come to the events which united the two kingdoms by a family compact.

The liberties of the provinces, the military corporations, and the cities of Spain had been gradually absorbed by the power of the monarch; and the inquisition had so manacled the national intelligence that the country of Cervantes had relapsed into inactivity. The contest against the Arabs had been for seven centuries the struggle of Catholic Christianity against Moslem theism; and had given to Spanish character the rigid aspect of exclusiveness which was heightened by the barrier presented by the Pyrenees to easy communication with the rest of Europe. France had established its unity by amalgamating provinces on the principle of equality; Spain had made war on a nation and a religion. Moreover, she had lost men. From Ferdinand the Catholic to Philip III., she had expelled three millions of Jews and Moors; her inferior nobility emigrated to America; in 1702, her census enumerated less than seven million souls. The nation that once would have invaded England had no navy; and, possessing mines in Mexico and South America, it needed subscriptions for its defence. Foreigners, by means of loans and mortgages, gained more than seven eighths of its wealth from America, and furnished more than nine tenths of the merchandise shipped for the colonies. Spanish commerce had expired; Spanish manufactures had declined; even agriculture had fallen a victim to mortmains and privilege. Inactivity was followed by poverty; and, on the thirtieth of October 1701, its dynasty became extinct.

If the doctrine of legitimacy were to be recognised as paramount to treaties, the king of France could claim for his own family the inheritance of Spain. That claim was sanctioned by the testament of the last Spanish king, and by the desire of the Spanish people, whose anger had been roused by attempts at the partition of its possessions. The crown of Spain held the Low Countries, the Milanese, and the Two Sicilies, besides its world in the Indies; and the union of so many states in the family of the Bourbons seemed to threaten the freedom of Europe, and to secure to France colonial supremacy. William III. resolved on war. In 1702, the last year of his life, suffering from a mortal disease—with swollen feet, voice extinguished; too infirm to receive visits; alone at the castle of St. Loo—he rallied new alliances, governed the policy of Europe, and shaped the territorial destinies of America. In the midst of negotiations, James II. died at St. Germain; and the king of France incensed the British nation by recognising the son of the royal exile as the legitimate king of Great Britain. Louis XIV., "that wicked persecutor of God's people," as he was called in a Boston pulpit, was grown old; and the men of energy in his cabinet and his army were gone. There was no Colbert to put order into his finances; Luxembourg was dead, and the wise Catinat no more in favor. Two years passed without reverses; but, in 1704, the battle of Blenheim revealed the exhaustion of France. The armies of Louis XIV. were opposed by troops from England, the German empire, Holland, Savoy, Portugal, Denmark, Prussia, and Lorraine, under the command of Eugene and Marlborough, who, completing the triumvirate with Heinsius, the grand pensionary of Holland, combined in their service money, numbers, forethought, and genius.

The central colonies of our republic were undisturbed, except as they were invited to aid in defending the borders, or were alarmed by a privateer off their coast. The Five Nations, at peace with France and England, protected New York by a compact of neutrality with them both. South Carolina and New England were alone involved in direct war.

The governor of South Carolina, James Moore, by the desire of the commons, placed himself at the head of an expe-

dition for the reduction of St. Augustine. The town was easily ravaged; to besiege the castle, heavy artillery has been asked for of Jamaica. At the instance of Bienville, then in Mobile, two Spanish vessels appeared near the harbor; Moore, abandoning his ships and stores, retreated by land. The colony, burdened with debt, pleaded the precedent "of great and rich countries," and, confident that "funds of credit have fully answered the ends of money," issued bills of credit to the amount of six thousand pounds. To Carolina, the first-fruits of war were debt and paper money.

The Spaniards had gathered the natives on the bay of Appalachee into towns, built for them churches, and instructed them by Franciscan priests. The traders of Carolina beheld with alarm the line of communication from St. Augustine to the incipient settlements in Louisiana; and, in the last weeks of 1705, a company of fifty volunteers, under the command of Moore, assisted by a thousand savage allies, following the trading path across the Ocmulgee, came upon the Muskohgee towns near St. Mark's. Their inhabitants had learned the use of horses and of beeves, which multiplied without care in their groves. At sunrise, on the fourteenth of December, the adventurers reached the strong place of Ayavalla. Beaten back from an assault, they set fire to the church, which adjoined the fort. A "barefoot friar" vainly begged for mercy; more than a hundred women and children and more than fifty warriors were taken prisoners for the slave-market. On the next morning, the Spanish commander on the bay, with twenty-three soldiers and four hundred Indians, gave battle, and was defeated. The chief of Ivitachina "compounded for peace with the plate of his church and ten horses laden with provisions." Five other towns submitted without conditions, and most of their people removed as free emigrants into South Carolina.

In the next year, a French squadron from the Havana attempted revenge by an invasion of Charleston; but the brave William Rhett and the governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, prepared defence. The Huguenots panted for action. One of the French ships was taken; wherever a landing was effected, the enemy was attacked with such energy that, of eight hundred, three hundred were killed or taken prisoners. Unaided

by her proprietaries, South Carolina, with little loss, repelled the invaders. The result was an indefinite extension of the English boundary toward the south.

For Massachusetts, the history of the war is but a record of sorrows. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, now governor of Canada, made haste to conciliate the Iroquois. He formed a treaty of neutrality with the Senecas, and, to prevent its rupture, he sent no war-parties against New York.

The English were less successful in their plans of neutrality with the Abenakis. Within six weeks, the country from Casco to Wells was in a conflagration. On the tenth of August, 1703, the several parties of Indians and French burst upon every house or garrison in that region, sparing, says the faithful chronicler, "neither the milk-white brows of the ancient nor the mournful cries of tender infants." Cruelty became an art, and honor was awarded to the most skilful contriver of tortures.

Death hung on the frontier. The farmers, that had built their dwellings on the bank just above the beautiful meadows of Deerfield, had surrounded with pickets an enclosure of twenty acres, the village citadel. There were separate dwelling-houses, likewise fortified by a circle of sticks of timber set upright in the ground. Their occupants knew, through the Mohawks, that danger was at hand. All that winter, there was not a night but the sentinel was abroad; not a mother lulled her infant to rest without fearing that, before morning, the tomahawk might crush its skull. The snow lay four feet deep, when the clear, invigorating air of midwinter cheered the war-party of about two hundred French and one hundred and forty-two Indians, who, with the aid of snow-shoes and led by Hertel de Rouville, had walked on the crust all the way from Canada. On the last night in February 1704, a pine forest near Deerfield gave them shelter till after midnight. When, at the approach of morning, the unfaithful sentinels retired, the war-party entered within the palisades, which drifts of snow had made useless; and the war-whoop of the savages bade each family prepare for captivity or death. The village was set on fire, and all but the church and one dwelling-house were consumed. Of the inhabitants, but few escaped: forty-seven were

killed; one hundred and twelve, including the minister and his family, were made captives. One hour after sunrise, the party began its return to Canada. But who would know the horrors of that winter march through the wilderness? Two men starved to death. Did a young child weep from fatigue, or a woman totter from anguish under the burden of her own offspring, the tomahawk stilled complaint, or the infant was cast out upon the snow. Eunice Williams, the wife of the minister, had not forgotten her Bible; and, when they rested by the wayside, or at night made their couch of branches of evergreen strown on the snow, the savages allowed her to read it. Having but recently recovered from confinement, her strength soon failed. To her husband, who reminded her of the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," "she justified God in what had happened." The mother's heart rose to her lips as she commended her five captive children, under God, to their father's care; and then one blow from a tomahawk ended her sorrows. "She rests in peace," said her husband, "and joy unspeakable and full of glory." In Canada, no entreaties, no offers of ransom, could rescue his youngest daughter, then a child of but seven years old. Adopted into the village of the praying Indians near Montreal, she became a proselyte to the Catholic faith, and the wife of a Cahnewaga chief. When, after long years, she visited her friends at Deerfield, she appeared in an Indian dress; and, making a short sojourn, in spite of a day of fast of a whole village which assembled to pray for her deliverance, she returned to the fires of her wigwam and to the love of her Mohawk children.

From 1705 to 1707, the prowling Indian stealthily approached towns even in the heart of Massachusetts. Children, as they gambolled on the beach; mowers, as they swung the scythe; mothers, as they busied themselves about the household—fell victims to an enemy who was ever present where a garrison or a family ceased its vigilance, and disappeared after striking a blow.

In 1708, after a war-council at Montreal, the French, under Des Chaillons and Hertel de Rouville, with Algonkin allies, ascended the St. Francis, and, passing by the White Moun-

tains, having travelled near one hundred and fifty leagues, made their rendezvous at Winnipiseogee. There they failed to meet the expected aid from the Abenakis, and, in consequence, were too feeble to attack Portsmouth; they therefore descended the Merrimack to the town of Haverhill, which was, at that time, a cluster of thirty cottages and log cabins, embosomed in the primeval forests, near the tranquil Merrimack. In the centre of the settlement stood a new meeting-house, the pride of the village. On the few acres of open land, the ripening Indian corn rose over the charred stumps of trees; on the north and west the unbroken wilderness stretched beyond the White Mountains. On the twenty-ninth of August, evening prayers had been offered in each family, and the village had resigned itself to sleep. That night the invaders slept quietly in the near forest. At daybreak they assumed the order of battle; Rouville addressed the soldiers, who, after their orisons, marched against the fort, raised the shrill yell, and dispersed themselves through the village to their work of blood. The rifle rang; the cry of the dying rose. Benjamin Rolfe, the minister, was beaten to death; one Indian sunk a hatchet deep into the brain of his wife, while another dashed the head of his infant child against a stone. Thomas Hartshorne and two of his sons, attempting a rally, were shot; a third son was tomahawked. John Johnston was shot by the side of his wife; she fled into the garden, bearing an infant; was caught and murdered; but, as she fell, she concealed her child, which was found, after the massacre, clinging to her breast. Simon Wainwright was killed at the first fire. Mary, his wife, unbarred the door; with cheerful mien bade the savages enter; furnished them what they wished; and, when they demanded money, she retired as if to "bring it," and, gathering up all her children save one, succeeded in escaping.

As the destroyers retired, Samuel Ayer, ever to be remembered in village annals, with a force which equalled but a thirteenth part of the invaders, hung on their rear—himself a victim, yet rescuing several from captivity.

The day was advanced when the battle ended. The rude epitaph on the moss-grown stone tells where the interment was made in haste; Rolfe, his wife, and child, fill one grave; in

the burial-ground of the village, an ancient mound marks the resting-place of the multitude of the slain.

"I hold it my duty toward God and my neighbor," such was the message of the brave Peter Schuyler to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, "to prevent, if possible, these barbarous and heathen cruelties. My heart swells with indignation when I think that a war between Christian princes, bound to the exactest laws of honor and generosity, which their noble ancestors have illustrated by brilliant examples, is degenerating into a savage and boundless butchery."

Such fruitless cruelties compelled the employment of a large part of the inhabitants as soldiers; so in one year, during this war, even a fifth part of all who were able to bear arms were in active service. They fostered a willingness to exterminate the natives. The Indians vanished when their homes were invaded; hence a bounty was offered for every Indian scalp; to regular forces under pay, the grant was ten pounds; to volunteers in actual service, twice that sum; but volunteers without pay were encouraged by the promise of "fifty pounds per scalp."

Meantime, the English had repeatedly made efforts to gain the French fortress on Newfoundland; and New England, for the security of its trade and fishery, desired the reduction of Acadia. In 1704, a fleet from Boston harbor defied Port Royal; three years afterward, under the influence of Dudley, Massachusetts attempted its conquest. The costly expedition was thwarted by the activity of Castin, and was followed in the colony by increased paper currency and public debt. But England was resolved on colonial acquisitions; in 1709, a fleet and an army were to be sent from Europe; from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, twelve hundred men were to aid in the conquest of Quebec; from the central provinces, fifteen hundred were to assail Montreal; and, in one season, Acadia, Canada, and Newfoundland were to be reduced under British sovereignty. The colonies kindled at the prospect: to defray the expenses of preparation, Connecticut and New York and New Jersey then first issued bills of credit; stores were collected, troops levied, but no English fleet arrived.

At last, in 1710, the successful expedition against Acadia

took place. At the instance of Nicholson, who had been in England for that purpose, six English vessels under his command, joined by thirty of New England, and four New England regiments, sailed in September from Boston. In six days the fleet anchored before the fortress of Port Royal. The troops under Subercase, the French governor, were few and disheartened. Famine would have soon compelled a surrender at discretion. Terms of capitulation were easily concerted; on the sixteenth of October, new style, the garrison, one hundred and fifty-six, marched out, with the honors of war. From that day the English flag has been safe at the town, which in honor of the queen was called Annapolis.

Flushed with victory, Nicholson repaired to England to urge the conquest of Canada. The legislature of New York had unanimously appealed to the queen on the dangerous progress of French dominion at the West. "It is well known," said their address, "that the French can go by water from Quebec to Montreal. From thence they can do the like, through rivers and lakes, at the back of all your majesty's plantations on this continent as far as Carolina; and in this large tract of country live several nations of Indians who are vastly numerous. Among those, they constantly send emissaries and priests, with toys and trifles, to insinuate themselves into their favor. Afterward they send traders, then soldiers, and at last build forts among them; the garrisons are encouraged to intermarry, cohabit, and incorporate among them; and it may easily be concluded that, upon a peace, many of the disbanded soldiers will be sent thither for that purpose." At the same time, five chiefs from the Iroquois sailed with Schuyler for England. In London, amid the gaze of crowds, dressed in English small-clothes of black, with scarlet ingrain cloth mantles edged with gold for their blankets, they were conducted in coaches to an audience with Queen Anne, to whom they gave belts of wampum, and avowed their readiness to take up the hatchet for the reduction of Canada.

In 1711, the secretary of state was Saint-John, afterward raised to the peerage as Viscount Bolingbroke, whom a keen observer described as "the greatest young man" of his day. He possessed wit, quickness of apprehension, learning,

and excellent taste. Though fond of pleasure, he was prompt, and capable of close and long-continued application. Winning friends by his good temper and charming conversation, he was the best orator in the house of commons; and parliament was infatuated by his eloquence. But Saint-John had no faith, and therefore could keep none. He could be true in his attachment to a woman or a friend, but not to a principle or a people. "The rabble," he would say, "is a monstrous beast, that has passions to be moved, but no reason to be appealed to; plain sense will influence half a score of men at most, while mystery will lead millions by the nose;" and, having no reliance in the power of the common mind to discern the right, or in the power of truth to guide through perils, he could give no fixedness to his administration, and no security to his fame. Demanding intellectual freedom, he was author of the tax on newspapers. Indifferent to religion, he was the unscrupulous champion of the high church, and supported the worst acts of its most intolerant policy, while he despised its priests and derided its doctrines. As he grew older, he wrote on patriotism and liberty, and, from the dupe of the Pretender, became the suitor for power through the king's mistress. Thus, though capable of great ideas, and catching glimpses of universal truth, his horizon was shut in by the selfishness of his ambition. Writing brilliant treatises on philosophy, he fretted at the bit which curbed his passions; and, from the unsettled character of his mind, though rapid in appropriating a scheme, he could not arrange an enterprise with method. Full of energy and restless activity, he wanted soundness of judgment and power of combination. Such was the statesman who formed the design of the conquest of Canada.

The fleet, consisting of fifteen ships-of-war and forty transports, was placed under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker; seven veteran regiments from Marlborough's army, with a battalion of marines, were intrusted to Mrs. Masham's second brother, whom the queen had pensioned and made a brigadier-general; whom his bottle companions called honest Jack Hill; whom, when a tall, ragged boy, the duchess of Marlborough had, from charity, put to school; and whom the duke, refusing him a colonelcy, had properly described as good for no

thing. In the preparations, the public treasury was defrauded for the benefit of favorities. "Improve to-day, instead of depending on to-morrow;" was the secretary's admonition to his admiral. "The queen is very uneasy at the unaccountable loss of time in your stay at Portsmouth." The fleet did sail at last; and when Saint-John heard of its arrival at Boston, he wrote to the duke of Orrery: "I believe you may depend on our being masters, at this time, of all North America."

From June twenty-fifth to the thirtieth day of July 1711, the fleet lay at Boston, taking in supplies and the colonial forces. At the same time, an army of men from Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York, Palatine emigrants, and about six hundred Iroquois, assembling at Albany, prepared to burst upon Montreal; while in Wisconsin the English had allies in the Foxes, who were always wishing to expel the French from Michigan.

In Quebec, measures of defence began by a renewal of friendship with the Indians. To deputies from the Onondagas and Senecas, the governor spoke of the fidelity with which the French had kept their treaty; and he reminded them of their promise to remain quiet upon their mats.

A war festival was next held, at which were present all the savages domiciliated near the French settlements, and all the delegates of their allies who had come down to Montreal. In the presence of seven or eight hundred warriors, the war-song was sung and the hatchet uplifted. The savages of the remote West were wavering, till twenty Hurons from Detroit took up the hatchet, and swayed all the rest by their example. By the influence of the Jesuits over the natives, an alliance extending to the Ojibwas constituted the defence of Montreal.

Descending to Quebec, Vaudreuil found Abenaki volunteers assembling for his protection. Measures for resistance had been adopted with hearty earnestness; the fortifications were strengthened; Beauport was garrisoned; and the people were resolute and confiding; even women were ready to labor for the common defence.

Toward the last of August, it was said that peasants at Matanes had descried ninety or ninety-six vessels with the English flag. Yet September came, and still from the heights

of Cape Diamond no eye caught one sail of the expected enemy.

The English squadron, leaving Boston on the thirtieth of July, after loitering near the bay of Gaspé, at last began to ascend the St. Lawrence, while Sir Hovenden Walker puzzled himself with contriving how he should secure his vessels during the winter at Quebec. Fearing "the ice in the river, freezing to the bottom, would bilge them, as much as if they were to be squeezed between rocks," he could think of no way but to disencumber them, "and secure them on the dry ground, in frames and cradles, till the thaw." While ascending the river, which he took to be "a hundred fathom deep," on the evening of the twenty-second of August, a thick fog came on, with an easterly breeze. The pilots, with one accord, advised that the fleet should lie to, with the heads of the vessels to the southward; this was done, and, even so, the vessels were carried toward the northern shore. Just as Walker was going to bed, the captain of his ship came down to say that land could be seen; and, without going on deck, the admiral wantonly ordered the ships to head to the north. There was on the quarter-deck a man of sense—Goddard, a captain in the land service: he rushed to the cabin in great haste, and importuned the admiral at least to come on deck; but the self-willed man laughed at his fears. A second time Goddard returned, saying: "For the Lord's sake, come on deck, or we shall certainly be lost; I see breakers all around us!" "Putting on my gown and slippers," writes Walker, "and coming up on deck, I found what he told me to be true." Even then the blind admiral shouted: "I see no land to the leeward!" but the moon, breaking through the mists, gave him the lie. The fleet was close upon the north shore, among the Egg islands. Now the admiral believed the pilots, and made sail immediately for the middle of the river; but morning showed that eight ships had been wrecked, and eight hundred and eighty-four men drowned. A council of war voted unanimously that it was impossible to proceed. "Had we arrived safe at Quebec," wrote the admiral, "ten or twelve thousand men must have been left to perish of cold and hunger: by the loss of a part, Providence saved all the rest!"

Such was the issue of hostilities in the North-east. Their total failure left the expedition from Albany no option but to return, and Montreal was unmolested. Detroit, in 1712, almost fell before the valor of a party of the Ottagamies, or Foxes, a nation passionate and untamable, springing up into new life from every defeat, and though reduced in the number of their warriors, yet present everywhere by their ferocious daring. Resolving to burn Detroit, they pitched their lodgings near the fort, which Du Buisson, with but twenty Frenchmen, defended. Aware of their intention, he summoned his Indian allies from the chase; and, about the middle of May, Ottawas and Hurons and Pottawatomies, with one branch of the Sacs, Illinois, Menomonies, and even Osages and Missouris, each nation with its own ensign, came to his relief. So wide was the influence of the missionaries in the West. "Father," said they, "behold! thy children compass thee round. We will, if need be, gladly die for our father; only take care of our wives and our children, and spread a little grass over our bodies to protect them against the flies." The warriors of the Fox nation, far from destroying Detroit, were themselves besieged, and at last were compelled to surrender at discretion. Those who bore arms were ruthlessly murdered; the rest distributed among the confederates, to be enslaved or massacred at the will of their masters. Cherished as the loveliest spot in Canada, the possession of Detroit secured for Quebec a great highway to the upper Indian tribes and to the Mississippi.

The Tuscaroras changed their dwelling-place during the war. Their chiefs had become indignant at the encroachments of the proprietaries of Carolina, who had assigned their lands to Palatines, fugitives from the banks of the Neckar and the Rhine. De Graffenried, who had undertaken the establishment of the exiles, accompanied by Lawson, the surveyor-general for the northern province, in September 1711, ascended the Neuse river, to discover how far it was navigable and through what kind of country it flowed. Seized by a party of sixty well-armed Indians, they were taken to a village of the Tuscaroras. Before a council of the principal men from various towns of the tribe, complaint was made of the conduct of the English in Carolina, and Lawson, who with his compass

and chain had marked their territory into lots for settlers, was reproved as "the man who sold their land." After a discussion of two days, the death of the prisoners was decreed. The fire was kindled; the ring drawn round the victims, and strown with flowers. On the morning appointed for the execution, a council assembled anew. Round the white men sat the chiefs in two rows; behind them were three hundred of the people, engaged in dances. No reprieve was granted to Lawson; but Graffenried, on pledging his people to neutrality and promising to occupy no land without the consent of the tribe, was suffered, after a captivity of five weeks, to return through the woods on foot. He came back to desolated settlements. On the twenty-second of September, small bands of the Tuscaroras and Corees, acting in concert, approached the scattered cabins along the Roanoke and Pamlico sound. As night came on, a whoop from a warrior called his associates from the woods, to commence the indiscriminate carnage, and the Palatines encountered a foe more fierce than Louvois and Louis XIV. At Bath, the Huguenot refugees, and the planters in their neighborhood, were struck down by aid of light from their own burning cabins. In the three following days the savages scoured the country on the Albemarle sound.

Not all the Tuscaroras had joined in the conspiracy: Spotswood, governor of Virginia, sought to renew with them an alliance; but, as the burgesses engaged with him in a contest of power, no effectual aid came from the Old Dominion. The assembly of South Carolina promptly voted relief; and, in 1712, defying the hardships of a long march through the wilderness, Barnwell, with Cherokees, Creeks, Catawbas, and Yamassees as allies, led a small detachment of militia to the banks of Neuse river. There, in the upper part of Craven county, the Indians were intrenched in a rude fort. The fort was besieged; but even imminent danger had not roused the inhabitants of North Carolina to harmonious action; they retained their hatred for the rule of the proprietaries, and Barnwell could only negotiate with the Indians a treaty of peace.

The troops of South Carolina, on their return, themselves violated the treaty, enslaving inhabitants of villages which should have been safe under its guarantees; and the massacres

on Neuse river were renewed. The province was impoverished, the people dissatisfied with their government; in autumn, the yellow fever raged in its most malignant form; and the country south of Pamlico sound seemed destined to become once more a wilderness. But Spotswood succeeded in dividing the Tuscaroras. In November and December, large re-enforcements of Indians from South Carolina arrived, with a few white men, under James Moore. The enemy were pursued to their fort, within the limits of the present Greene county, on the Neuse; and, on its surrender, in March 1713, eight hundred became captives. The legislature of North Carolina, assembling in May, under a new governor, issued its first bills of credit to the amount of eight thousand pounds. "The very refractory" among the people grew zealous to supply the forces with provisions; the enemy were chased across the lakes and swamps of Hyde county; the woods were patrolled by red allies, who hunted for prisoners to be sold as slaves, or scalped for a reward. At last, the hostile part of the Tuscaroras abandoned their old hunting-grounds, and, migrating to the vicinity of the Oneida lake, were received by their kindred, the Iroquois, into the confederacy of the Five Nations. Their humbled allies were established as a single settlement in the precincts of Hyde. The power of the natives of North Carolina was broken, and its interior made safe to the emigrant.

In the mean time, the preliminaries of a treaty had been signed between France and England; and the war, which had grown out of European changes and convulsions, was suspended by negotiations that were soon followed by the uncertain peace of Utrecht.

In 1706, after the victories of Ramillies and of Turin, France, driven from its outposts, was compelled to struggle for the defence of its own soil. The aged monarch was humbled in arms, reduced in power, chagrined by the decline of the prosperity of his kingdom, and dejected at the loss of foreign provinces. His children, his grandchildren, all but one infant, were swept away. For the sake of peace, he, in April 1709, offered to "make a sacrifice of his glory," and assent to the dethronement of his grandson. The confederates demanded that he should himself expel his grandson from the Spanish throne.

"If I must have war," he answered, "it shall not be with my children;" and he began to enlist on his side the sympathies of the dispassionate. From the banks of the Danube, the Tagus, and the Po, his armies had been driven back into his own kingdom. France could not threaten England with a king, or Holland with conquest, or the emperor with rivalry in the empire. The party of peace grew every day. Besides, the archduke Charles, whom the allies had proposed as king of Spain, was, by the death of Joseph, become emperor. If the sovereign over the Austrian dominions, and head of the empire, should possess the undivided Spanish monarchy, the days of Charles V. would return.

The debility of France became its safety, and the accumulated power of the archduke was the prevailing motive for neglecting his claims. Moreover, success in arms had, in 1710, under the auspices of the victorious Duke de Vendome and with the applause of the Spanish nation, conducted Philip V., the grandson of Louis XIV., to Madrid. His expulsion was become impossible. In England, where public opinion could reach the government, the tories came into power as the party of peace. Marlborough was dismissed.

The treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, in April 1713, closed the series of universal wars for the balance of power. The Netherlands were the barrier against French encroachment; they were severed from Spain, and assigned to Austria, as the second land power on the continent. The house of Savoy was raised to the rank of royalty; and Sicily at first, afterward, instead of Sicily, the island of Sardinia, was added to its sceptre. The kingdom of Naples, at first divided between the houses of Savoy and Austria, soon became united, and was constituted a secundogeniture of Spain. These subordinate changes were not inconsistent with the policy of the peace of Utrecht, and were, therefore, at a later day, effected without a general conflagration of Europe. For the Calvinist family of the Hohenzollern, and for Savoy, a monarchy was established. The balance of power, so far as France and England were interested on the continent, was arranged in a manner that might have permitted between the two neighbors a perpetual peace.

France assented to the emancipation of England from the maxims of legitimacy, and not only recognised the reigning queen, but the succession to the crown, as vested in the house of Hanover by act of parliament. Spain vindicated for the family of the Bourbons the right of succession to the crowns of France and Spain, but consented that the two nations should never be united under one king. England took no interest in any question of freedom agitated on the continent, and never promoted, or was suspected of promoting, any increase of popular power. It faithlessly and ungratefully abandoned Holland. Its true-hearted allies, the Catalonians, had maintained the liberties which they had inherited from the middle age: the Bourbons abolished them in punishment of a people which had fought with England; and, in the treaty of peace, England mocked them by a clause which promised them "the privileges of Castile"—that is, the total loss of their own. The absolute monarchies of the continent had no dread of Great Britain as the supporter in arms of revolution. The principles which were springing into activity on the borders of the American wilderness were not noticed; European revolutions and European wars for freedom seemed forever at an end.

And yet the treaty of peace at Utrecht scattered the seeds of war broadcast throughout the globe. The world had entered on the period of mercantile privilege. Instead of establishing equal justice, England sought commercial advantages; and, as the mercantile system was identified with the colonial system of the great maritime powers of Europe, the political interest, which could alone kindle universal war, was to be sought in the colonies. Hitherto, they had been subordinate to European politics: henceforward, the question of trade on our borders, of territory on our frontier, involved an interest which could rouse the world to arms. The interests of commerce, under the narrow view of privilege and of profit, regulated diplomacy, swayed legislation, and marshalled revolutions.

First, then, by the peace of Utrecht, Spain lost all her European provinces and retained all her colonies. The mother country, being thus left with a population of but six or seven millions, had no strength proportionate to the vast extent of her colonial possessions. She held them not by physical force,

but by the power of established interests, usages, and religion. By insisting on the cession of the Spanish Netherlands to Austria, England lost its only hold on Spain; and, by retaining Gibraltar, made her its implacable enemy.

Again, by the peace of Utrecht, Belgium was compelled to forego the advantages with which she had been endowed by the God of nature; to gratify commercial jealousy, Antwerp was denied the use of the deep waters that flowed by her walls; and the Austrian efforts at trade with the East Indies were suffocated in their infancy. This policy was a violation of international justice, a fraud upon humanity, a restriction, by covenant, of national industry and prosperity. It was a pledge that Belgium would look beyond treaties, and grow familiar with natural right.

With regard to France, one condition of the treaty was still worse. England extorted the covenant that the port of Dunkirk should be filled up. A treaty of peace contained a stipulation for the ruin of a harbor!

On the opening of the contest with France, in 1689, William III., though bearing the standard of freedom, was false to the principle of the liberty of the seas, prohibiting to foreign nations all commerce with France; and to the protest of Holland he gave no other reply than that it was his will, and that he had power to make it good. To the tory ministry of Queen Anne belongs the honor of having inserted in the treaties of peace a principle which, but for England, would in that generation have wanted a vindicator. But truth, once elicited, never dies. As it descends through time, it may be transmitted from state to state, from monarch to commonwealth; but its light is never extinguished, and never falls to the ground. A great truth, if no existing nation would assume its guardianship, has power—such is God's providence—to call a people into being, and live by the life it imparts. The idea which Grotius promulgated, Bolingbroke fostered and England kept alive. "Free ships," such was international law, as interpreted by England at Utrecht, "free ships shall also give a freedom to goods." The name of contraband was narrowly defined, and the right of blockade severely limited. Sailors, in those days, needed no special protections; for it

was covenanted that, with the exception of soldiers in the actual service of the enemy, the flag shall protect the persons that sail under it.

The English government had always cherished most warmly the slave-trade of its merchants, giving instructions to the governors of New York and to other governors, before and during the war, to furnish "a constant and sufficient supply of merchantable negroes." Its ambition, capacious of such schemes for the enrichment of the kingdom, now strove not only to fill British colonies with slaves, but to monopolize the supply of Spanish America; and at the same time to secure the most favorable opportunities for a profitable smuggling trade. The assiento, as the agreement respecting the slave-trade was called, was, for English America, the most weighty result of the negotiations at Utrecht. It was demanded by Saint-John in 1711; and Louis XIV. promised his good offices to obtain it for the English. "Her Britannic majesty did offer and undertake," such are the words of the treaty, "by persons whom she shall appoint, to bring into the West Indies of America belonging to his Catholic majesty, in the space of thirty years, one hundred and forty-four thousand negroes, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred in each of the said thirty years," paying, on four thousand of them, a duty of thirty-three and a third dollars a head. The assientists might introduce as many more as they pleased, at the less rate of duty of sixteen and two thirds dollars a head. Exactest care was taken to secure a monopoly. No Frenchman, nor Spaniard, nor any other persons, might introduce one negro slave into Spanish America. For the Spanish world in the Gulf of Mexico, on the Atlantic, and along the Pacific, as well as for the English colonies, her Britannic majesty, by persons of her appointment, was the exclusive slave-trader. England extorted the privilege of filling the New World with negroes. As great profits were anticipated from the trade, Philip V. of Spain took one quarter of the common stock, agreeing to pay for it by a stock-note; Queen Anne reserved to herself another quarter; and the remaining moiety was to be divided among her subjects. The sovereigns of England and Spain became the largest slave-merchants ever known in

the history of the world. Lady Masham promised herself a share of the profits; but Harley, who had good sense and was most free from avarice, advised the assignment of the queen's portion of the stock to the South Sea company.

Controlling the trade in slaves, who cost nothing but trinkets and toys and refuse arms, England gained, by the sale of the children of Africa into bondage in America, the capital which confirmed a British empire in Hindostan. The political effects of this traffic were equally perceptible in the West Indies. The mercantile system of monopoly, of which the colonial system was the essential branch, culminated in the slave-trade, and the commercial policy adopted with regard to the chief produce of slave-labor. The statesmen who befriended the restrictive system showed their highest favor to the sugar colonies.

Further, England, guarding with the utmost strictness the monopoly of her own colonial trade, encroached by treaty on the colonial monopoly of Spain. There shall be trade, it was said, between Great Britain and Spain, and their respective plantations and provinces, "where hitherto trade and commerce have been accustomed;" so that a prescriptive right might spring from the continued successes of British smugglers. Besides, as England gained the assiento, it was agreed that the agents of the assientists might enter all the ports of Spanish America; might send their factors into inland places; might, for their own supplies, establish warehouses, safe against search until after proof of fraudulent importations; might send yearly a ship of five hundred tons, laden with merchandise, to be entered free of all duties in the Indies, and to be sold at the annual fair; might send the returns of this traffic, whether bars of silver, ingots of gold, or the produce of the country, directly to Europe in English vessels. The hope was further expressed that, from Europe and the North American colonies, direct supplies might be furnished to the assientists in small vessels; that is, in vessels fitted to engage in smuggling. Here lay the seeds of war: the great colonial monopolists were divided against each other; and England sought to engross, if possible, every advantage. Many were the consequences to our fathers from these encroachments; they opened trade between

our colonies and the Spanish islands; they stimulated England to aggressions till Spain became willing to see the great colonial system impaired, if by that means she could revenge herself on England.

Finally, England, by the peace of Utrecht, obtained from France large concessions of territory in America. The assembly of New York had addressed the queen against French settlements in the West; William Penn advised to establish the St. Lawrence as the boundary on the north, and to include in our colonies the valley of the Mississippi. It "will make a glorious country:" such were his prophetic words. Spotswood, of Virginia again and again directed the attention of the English ministry to the progress of the French in the West. The colony of Louisiana excited in Saint-John "apprehensions of the future undertakings of the French in North America." The occupation of the Mississippi valley had been proposed to Queen Anne; yet, at the peace, that immense region remained to France. But England obtained the bay of Hudson and its borders; Newfoundland, subject to the rights of France in its fisheries; and all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, according to its ancient boundaries. It was agreed that "France should never molest the Five Nations subject to the dominion of Great Britain." But Louisiana, according to French ideas, included both banks of the Mississippi. Did the treaty of Utrecht assent to such an extension of French territory? And what were the ancient limits of Acadia? Did it include all that is now New Brunswick? or had France still a large territory on the Atlantic between Acadia and Maine? And what were the bounds of the territory of the Five Nations, which the treaty appeared to recognise as a part of the English dominions? These were questions which were never to be adjusted amicably.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE BOUNDARIES OF BRITISH, FRENCH, AND SPANISH COLONIES.

In August 1714, the house of Hanover ascended the English throne, an event doubly grateful to the colonies. The contest of parties is the struggle between ideas; and the abiding sympathy of nations is never won but by the support of the regenerating principles of the age. George I. had imprisoned his wife; had, from jealousy, caused a young man to be assassinated; had had frequent and angry quarrels with his son; and now, being fifty-three years old, attended by two women of the Hanoverian aristocracy, who were proud of being known as his mistresses, he crossed the sea to become the sovereign of a country of which he understood neither the institutions, the manners, nor the language. Intrusting the administration to the whigs, he avowed his purpose of limiting his favor to them, as though he were himself a member of their party; and in return, by a complaisant ministry, places in the highest ranks of the English aristocracy were secured to his mistresses. And yet throughout English America even the clergy heralded the elevation of George I. as an omen of happiness; and it was announced from the pulpit of Boston that, in the whole land, "not a dog can wag his tongue to charge them with disloyalty." To the children of the Puritans, the accession of the house of Hanover was the triumph of Protestantism, and the guarantee of civil liberty.

Louis XIV. had outlived his children and every grandchild, except the king of Spain. "My child," said he, in August 1715, as he gave a farewell blessing to his great-grandson, the boy of five years old who was to be his successor, "you will be a great

king; do not imitate me in my passion for war; seek peace with your neighbors, and strive to be, what I have failed to be, a solace to your people." On the first of September 1715, he died, but the peace which two years before he had concluded with England remained unbroken for forty years. His nephew, the brave, generous, but abandoned Philip of Orleans, became absolute regent. The French minister Torcy, the gifted son of Colbert, was supplanted, and, by the influence of Protestant England, the recklessly immoral Du Bois, thrice infamous, as the corrupter of his pupil, as the licentious priest of a spiritual religion, and as a statesman in the pay of a foreign country, became cardinal, the successor of Fénelon in an archbishopric, and prime minister of France. On his death in 1723, Fleury entered the privy council, and, in January 1726, at seventy-three years of age, he became the chief minister of the king of France, with the rank of cardinal, and held the office until his death in January 1743. The wise cardinal had a discriminating and candid mind. The preservation of peace was his rule of administration; and he was the chosen mediator between conflicting sovereigns. He clearly foresaw impending revolutions, but succeeded in hushing the storm until his judgment sank beneath the infirmities of fourscore. Under such auspices peace was secured to the colonies of rival nations.

On the accession of George I., Sir Robert Walpole entered the British ministry, and, in the course of 1715, became the first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. From this post he retired in 1717, but only to resume it in 1720, and to retain it for more than twenty-one years. His character was a pledge of moderation. Ignorant of theories, not familiar with the history or politics of foreign nations, he was an adept in worldly wisdom. Though destitute of fortune or alliances, he gradually engrossed power, and exercised it temperately. Jovial and placable and always hopeful, he never distrusted his policy or himself. He could endure no rival and sought friends among his inferiors; nor could any person of high pretension long continue to act with him. His pleasures degenerated into coarse licentiousness, and he was not indifferent to the display of magnificence. In the

employment of means, he "plunged to the elbows in corruption." His strength lay in his policy of promoting the commerce and manufactures of his country and diminishing its debt. Never palliating his conduct, and caring only for majorities, trading for numbers and not for talents or for appearances, he followed honesty more than he professed to do. He did not corrupt others; he did but buy the service of the corrupt. The house of commons was his avenue to power; and his thoughts were engrossed by intrigues for its control.

Happy period for the colonies! For a little more than a quarter of a century, the controversies of Great Britain and France respecting colonial boundaries could not occasion the outbreak of a war.

South Carolina had become the centre of an Indian traffic, which the prospect of continued peace extended from Cape Fear to the country beyond the Savannah, from Mobile river to the Natchez. The tribes among which the traders had their storehouses had been regarded as "a tame and peaceable people;" they were very largely in debt for the advances which had been made them; and "the traders began to be hard upon them, because they would be paid." As a consequence, Indian tribes from Mobile river to Cape Fear were in commotion. A rising was resolved on by the Yamassees with such support as they could gain from the Uchees and the Creeks. On the morning of Good Friday 1715, an indiscriminate massacre of the English began. The bands of the enemy, hiding by day in the swamps, and by night attacking the scattered settlements, drove the planters toward the capital. Charleston itself was in peril.

But the impulse of wild passion could not prevail against the deliberate courage of civilized man. On the north, the insulated band of invaders received a check, and vanished into the forests; on the south, Charles Craven, the governor of the province, promptly led the militia of Colleton district to a final conflict with the confederated warriors on the banks of the Salke-hachie. The savages fought long and desperately; but they were driven out of the province. When Craven returned to Charleston, he was greeted with the applause which his

alacrity, courage, and conduct merited. The colony lost about four hundred of its inhabitants.

South Carolina had been defended by its own people alone; and they resolved, under the sovereignty of the English monarch, to govern themselves. Scalping-parties, from their places of refuge in Florida, continued to hover on the frontiers; and the proprietaries took no efficient measures for protecting their colony. They monopolized the lands which they had not contributed to defend. They negatived judicious revenue laws. The polls for the election of representatives had hitherto been held for the whole province at Charleston; the legislature authorized the votes to be taken in each parish; but this was negatived. Members of the proprietary council who, by long residence, became attached to their new country, were supplanted or outweighed by an abrupt increase of the number of councillors. In consequence, at the next election of assembly, though it was chosen at Charleston, not one friend of the proprietaries was returned. The members elect, at private meetings, "resolved to have no more to do with the proprietors;" and the people of the province entered "into an association to stand by their rights and privileges." The assembly, in November 1719, resolved "to have no regard to the officers of the proprietaries or to their administration," and begged Robert Johnson, the governor, "to hold the reins of government for the king." When Johnson rejected their offer, they, with Arthur Middleton for their president, voted themselves "a convention delegated by the people;" and, resolved "on having a governor of their own choosing," they elected James Moore, "whom all the country had allowed to be the fittest person" for undertaking its defence. The militia of Charleston was to be reviewed on the twenty-first of December; and that occasion was selected for proclaiming the new chief magistrate. To Parris, the commanding officer, Johnson issued particular orders to delay the muster, nor suffer a drum to be beaten in the town. But, on the appointed day, with colors flying at the forts and on all the ships in the harbor, the militia drew up in the public square. In the king's name, Johnson commanded Parris to disperse his men; and Parris answered: "I obey the convention." "The revolutioners had

their governor, council, and convention, and all of their own free election."

The agent from Carolina, in 1720, obtained in England a ready hearing from the lords of the regency. The proprietors were esteemed to have forfeited their charter; measures were taken for its abrogation; and, in the mean time, Francis Nicholson—trained to the direction of colonial governments, by experience in New York, in Virginia, in Maryland—received a royal commission as provisional governor of the province. The bold act of the people of Carolina, which in England was respected as an evidence of loyalty, was remembered in America as an example.

In 1721, the first act of Nicholson confirmed peace with the natives. On the border of the Cherokees he was met, in congress, by the chiefs of thirty-seven different villages. They smoked with him the calumet, and marked the boundaries between "the beloved nation" and the colonists; and they returned to their homes in the mountain vales, pleased with their generous brother and new ally. A treaty of commerce was concluded with the Creeks, whose hunting-grounds it was solemnly agreed should extend to the Savannah. Yet English ambition was not bounded by that river; in defiance of remonstrances from Spain, a small English fort was maintained on the forks of the Alatamaha.

In September 1729, under the sanction of an act of parliament, and for the sum of twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds, seven eighths of the proprietaries sold to the crown their territory, powers of jurisdiction and arrears of quit-rents. Lord Carteret alone, joining in the surrender of the government, reserved an eighth share in the soil. Then it was that a royal governor was first known in North Carolina. Its secluded hamlets had not imitated the popular revolution of the southern province.

So soon as the royal government was confirmed, it attempted, by treaties of union, to convert the Indians on the borders of Carolina into allies or subjects; and, early in 1730, Sir Alexander Cumming, a special envoy, guided by Indian traders to Keowee, summoned a general assembly of the chiefs of the Cherokees to meet at Nequassee, in the valley of the

Tennessee. They came together in the month of April, and were told that King George was their sovereign. When they offered a chaplet, four scalps of their enemies and five eagles' tails, as the record of the treaty, it was proposed to them to send deputies to England; and their assent was interpreted as an act of homage to the British monarch. In England, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was signed by the name and seal of one party, by the emblems and marks of the other. No white men, except the English, might build cabins or plant corn upon the lands of the Cherokees, who in this way were constituted a barrier against the French. The seven envoys from the mountains of Tennessee, bewildered at the vastness of London and the splendor and discipline of the British army, were presented at court; and, when in September the king claimed their land and all the country about them as his property, surprise and inadvertence extorted from one of their war-chiefs the irrevocable answer, "*To-eu-hah*"—it is "a most certain truth"—and the delivery of eagles' feathers confirmed his words. The covenant promised that love should flow forever like the rivers, that peace should endure like the mountains; and it was faithfully kept for one generation.

The treaty of Utrecht surrendered to England Acadia "with its ancient boundaries." Disputes were to arise respecting them; but even the eastern frontier of the province of Massachusetts was not vindicated without a contest. To the country between the Kennebec and the St. Croix a new claimant appeared in the Abenakis themselves. In 1716, the general court extended its jurisdiction to the utmost bounds of the province; the fishermen and the traders of New England not only revived the villages that had been desolated during the war, but, on the eastern bank of the Kennebec, laid the foundation of new settlements, and protected them by forts.

The red men became alarmed. Away went their chiefs, in 1717, across the forests to Quebec, to ask if France had indeed surrendered the country, of which they themselves were the rightful lords; and, as Vaudreuil answered that the French treaty with the English made no mention of their country, their chief resisted the claim of the government of Massachusetts. "I have my land," said he, "where the Great Spirit has

placed me; and, while there remains one child of my tribe, I shall fight to preserve it." France could not maintain its influence by an open alliance, but its missionaries guided their converts. At Norridgewock, on the banks of the Kennebec, Sebastian Rasles, for more than a quarter of a century the companion and instructor of savages, had gathered a flourishing village round a church which, rising in the desert, made some pretensions to magnificence. Severely ascetic, using no wine and little food except pounded maize, a rigorous observer of the days of Lent, he built his own cabin, tilled his own garden, drew for himself wood and water, prepared his own hominy, and, distributing all that he received, gave an example of religious poverty. Himself a painter, he adorned the humble walls of his church with pictures. There he gave instruction almost daily. Following his pupils to their wigwams, he tempered the spirit of devotion with familiar conversation and innocent gayety, winning the mastery over their souls by his powers of persuasion. He had trained a band of forty young savages, arrayed in cassock and surplice, to assist in the service and chant the hymns of the church; and their public processions attracted a concourse of red men. Two chapels were built near the village, and before them the hunter muttered his prayers, on his way to the river or the woods. When the tribe descended to the seaside, in the season of wild fowl, they were followed by Rasles; and on some islet a little chapel of bark was quickly consecrated.

In 1717, the government of Massachusetts attempted, in turn, to establish a mission; and its minister made a mocking of purgatory and the invocation of saints, of the cross and the rosary. "My Christians," retorted Rasles, "believe the truths of the Catholic faith, but are not skilful disputants;" and he prepared a defence of the Roman church.

Several chiefs had, by stratagem, been seized by the New England government, and were detained as hostages. For their liberty a stipulated ransom had been paid; and still they were not free. The Abenakis, in 1721, demanded that their territory should be evacuated, and the imprisoned warriors delivered up, or reprisals would follow. Instead of negotiating, the English seized the young Baron de Saint-Castin, a half

breed, who at once held a French commission and was an Indian war-chief; and, after vainly soliciting the savages to surrender Rasles, in January 1722, Westbrooke led a strong force to Norridgewock to take him by surprise. The warriors were absent in the chase; the Jesuit had sufficient warning to escape, with the old men and the infirm, into the forest; and the invaders gained nothing but his papers. These were important; for the correspondence with Vaudreuil proved a latent hope of establishing the power of France on the Atlantic. There was found, moreover, a vocabulary of the Abenaki language, which the missionary had compiled, and which has been preserved to this day.

On returning from the chase, the Indians, after planting their grounds, resolved to destroy the English settlements on the Kennebec. They sent deputies to carry the hatchet and chant the war-song among the Hurons of Quebec and in every village of the Abenakis. The work of destruction began by the burning of Brunswick.

Rasles clearly perceived that, "unless the French should join" with the red men, the land would be lost. At his bidding, many of his flock retired to Canada; but, to their earnest solicitations that he would share their flight, the aged man, foreseeing the impending ruin of Norridgewock, replied: "I count not my life dear unto myself, so I may finish with joy the ministry which I have received."

The legislature of Massachusetts, by resolution, in July 1722, declared the eastern Indians to be traitors and robbers; and, while troops were raised for the war, offered private men for each Indian scalp at first a bounty of fifteen pounds, and afterward of a hundred.

The expedition to Penobscot, in 1723, was under public auspices. After five days' march through the woods, Westbrooke, with his company, came upon the Indian settlement, that was probably above Bangor, at Old Town. He found a fort, seventy yards long and fifty in breadth, well protected by stockades, fourteen feet high, enclosing twenty-three houses regularly built. On the south side, near at hand, was the chapel, sixty feet long and thirty wide, well and handsomely furnished within and without; and south of this stood the "friar's dwelling

house." The invaders arrived there on the ninth of March 1723, at six in the evening. That night they set fire to the village, and by sunrise next morning every building was in ashes.

Twice it was attempted in vain to capture Rasles. At last, on the twenty-third of August 1724, a party from New England reached Norridgewock unperceived till they discharged their guns at the cabins. There were about fifty warriors in the place. They seized their arms and marched forth tumultuously to protect the flight of their wives and children and old men. Rasles, roused to the danger by their clamors, went forward to save his flock by drawing down upon himself the attention of the assailants; and his hope was not vain. Meantime, the savages fled to the river, which they passed by wading and swimming, while the English pillaged the cabins and the church, and then set them on fire.

After the retreat of the invaders, the red men returned to nurse their wounded and inter their dead. They buried Rasles beneath the spot where he used to stand before the altar. The most noted of the Catholic missionaries in New England, he was in his sixty-seventh year, and had been thirty-seven years in the service of the church in America. He knew several dialects of the Algonkin, and had been as a missionary among various tribes from the ocean to the Mississippi. In 1721, Father de la Chasse had advised his return to Canada. "God has intrusted to me this flock," was his answer; "I shall follow its fortunes, happy to be immolated for its benefit." In New England, he was regarded as the leader of the insurgent Indians; the brethren of his order mourned for him as a martyr and a saint.

The overthrow of the missions completed the ruin of French influence. The English themselves had grown skilful in the Indian mode of warfare; and no war-parties of the red men ever displayed more address or heroism than the brave John Lovewell and his companions. His volunteer associates twice returned laden with scalps. On a third expedition, in April 1725, falling into an ambush of Saco Indians, he lost his life in Fryeburg, near a sheet of water which has taken his name; and the stream that feeds it is still known to the peaceful husbandman as the Battle Brook.

In the following November, the eastern Indians, who had been instigated but not supported by the French, unable to contend openly with their opponents and excelled even in their own methods of warfare, concluded a peace, which in August of the next year was ratified by the chiefs as far as the St. John, and was long and faithfully maintained. Influence by commerce took the place of influence by religion, and English trading-houses supplanted French missions. Peace on the eastern frontier revived the maritime enterprise of Maine, and its settlements began to obtain a fixed prosperity.

The wilderness that divided the contending claimants postponed hostilities. By the treaty of Utrecht, the subjects and friends of both nations might resort to each other for the reciprocal benefit of their trade; and an active commerce subsisted between Albany and Montreal by means of the Christian Iroquois. The French, in 1719, gained leave to build a trading-house in the land of the Onondagas. In 1722 the governor of New York was instructed "to extend with caution the English settlements as far as possible, since there was no great probability of obtaining a determination of the general boundary." William Burnet, then governor of New York, bestowed assiduous care on the condition of the frontiers, invoked colonial concert, appealed to the ministry, and, in 1726, persuaded the New York legislature, at its own cost, to lay the foundation of Oswego. In 1727, this trading-post, partly at the expense of Burnet himself, was converted into a fortress, in defiance of the Five Nations and the constant protest of France. It was the avenue through which the West was reached by English traders; and formed a station for the Miamis, and even the Hurons, on their way from Detroit to Albany.

The limit of jurisdiction between England and France was not easy of adjustment. France had never yielded its claim to that part of Vermont and New York which is watered by streams flowing to the St. Lawrence. The boat of Champlain had entered the lake that makes his name a familiar word in the same summer in which Hudson ascended the North river. Holland had never dispossessed the French. There was no act of France relinquishing its pretension before the treaty of

Utrecht. The ambiguous language of that treaty did, indeed, refer to "the Five Nations subject to England;" but French diplomacy would not interpret an allusion to savage hordes as a surrender of Canadian territory, while the English revived and exaggerated the rights of the Five Nations.

In 1701, at the opening of the war of the Spanish succession, the chiefs of the Mohawks and Oneidas had appeared in Albany; and the English commissioners, who could produce no treaty, yet made a minute in their books of entry that the Mohawks and the Oneidas had placed their hunting-grounds under the protection of the English. Immediately their hunting-grounds were interpreted to extend to Lake Nipising; and, on old English maps, the region is included within the dominions of England, by virtue of an act of cession from the Iroquois.

But, as a treaty of which no record existed could hardly be cited as a surrender of lands, it was the object of Burnet to obtain a confirmation of this grant. Accordingly, in the treaty concluded at Albany, in September 1726, the cession of the Iroquois country west of Lake Erie, and north of Erie and Ontario, was confirmed; and, in addition, a strip of sixty miles in width, extending from Oswego to Cuyahoga river at Cleveland, was "submitted and granted" by chiefs of the three western tribes to "their sovereign lord, King George," "to be protected and defended by his said majesty, for the use of the said three nations." The chiefs could give no new validity to the alleged treaty of 1701; they had no authority to make a cession of land, nor were they conscious of attempting it. If France had renounced its rights to western New York, it had done so only in 1713 by the treaty of Utrecht. Each new ground for an English claim was a confession that the terms of the treaty of Utrecht were far from being explicit.

France did not merely remonstrate against the attempt to curtail its limits and appropriate its provinces. Entering Lake Champlain, it established, in 1731, the fortress of the crown. The garrison was at first stationed on the eastern shore of the lake, within the present township of Addison, but soon removed to the point, where its batteries defended the approach

to Canada by water. That Fort Dummer, which was within the present Brattleborough, was within the limits of Massachusetts was not questioned by the French.

Among the public officers of the French, who gained influence over the red men by adapting themselves with happy facility to life in the wilderness, was the Indian agent Joncaire. For twenty years he had been successfully employed in negotiating with the Senecas. He was become, by adoption, one of their own citizens and sons, and to the culture of a Frenchman added the fluent eloquence of an Iroquois warrior. "I have no happiness," said he in council, "like that of living with my brothers;" and he asked leave to build himself a dwelling. "He is one of our own children," it was said in reply; "he may build where he will." And he planted himself in the midst of a group of cabins on the angle formed by the junction of the Niagara with Lake Ontario, within the present Lewiston. In May of 1721, a party arrived at the spot, among whom were the son of the governor of New France, from Montreal, and Charlevoix, best of early writers on Canadian history. They observed the rich soil of western New York, its magnificent forests, its mild climate. "A good fortress in this place, with a reasonable settlement, will enable us," thus they reasoned, "to dictate law to the Five Nations, and to exclude the English from the fur trade." And, in 1726, four years after Burnet had built the English trading-house at Oswego, the flag of France floated from Fort Niagara.

The fortress at Niagara gave a control over the commerce of the interior: if furs descended by way of the lakes, they passed over the portage at the falls to Montreal. The boundless region in which they were gathered knew no jurisdiction but that of the French, whose trading canoes were safe in all the waters, whose missions extended beyond Lake Superior. Except the fortress at Oswego, the English held no post in the country watered by tributaries of the St. Lawrence.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROGRESS OF LOUISIANA.

At the west and south, Louisiana was held by the French to extend to the river Del Norte; the boundary line of French pretensions, in disregard of the claims of Spain, crossed the Rocky Mountains, and sought its termination in the Gulf of California. At the north-west, where it met the possessions of the company of Hudson's bay, the British commissioners, Bladen and the younger Pulteney, who repaired to Paris to adjust the boundaries, met irreconcilable differences, and no attempt was made to run the line.*

On the east, the line between Spain and France was equidistant from Pensacola and Mobile; with England, the watershed of the Alleghany Mountains was to France the dividing line.

The French made haste to secure their influence on the Ohio. In 1698, a branch of the Shawnees established themselves at Conestoga; in 1700, William Penn received them as a part of the people of Pennsylvania; and they scattered themselves along the upper branches of the Delaware and the Susquehannah. About the year 1724, the Delawares, for the conveniency of game, migrated to branches of the Ohio; and, in 1728, the Shawnees gradually followed them. They were soon met by Canadian traders. In 1730, the wily Joncaire induced their chiefs to visit the governor at Montreal. In the

* James Monroe to Lord Harrowby, 5 Sept., 1804, in American state papers; Foreign Affairs, iii., 97; and Caleb Cushing on the Treaty of Washington, 210, are incorrect. Greenhow, in his History of Oregon, 2d edition, 436, is right. An exhaustive research was made at my request in the British foreign department and in the record office, with the result that no line was agreed upon.

next year, the warriors of the tribe, hoisting a white flag in their town, put themselves under the protection of Louis XV. The government of Canada annually sent them presents and friendly messages.

To resist the French claims, Spotswood, the governor of Virginia, as early as 1710, sought to extend the line of the Virginia settlements far enough to the west to interrupt the chain of communication between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico. He caused the passes in the mountains to be examined, and promoted settlements beyond them. Finding other measures unavailing, he favored the incorporation of a Virginia Indian company, which, from the emoluments of a monopoly of the traffic, should sustain forts in the western country; but in England at that time determined opposition to a privileged company led to a repeal of the act.

In 1719, the subject was earnestly pressed upon the lords of trade by the governor of Pennsylvania, who counselled the establishment by Virginia of a fort on Lake Erie. From 1728, after the migration of the Delawares and Shawnees, James Logan, the secretary of Pennsylvania, incessantly demanded the attention of the proprietary to the ambitious designs of France, which extended "to the heads of all the tributaries of the Ohio." "This," he rightly added, "interferes with the five degrees of longitude of this province." In the autumn of 1731, immediately after the establishment of Crown Point, Logan prepared a memorial on the state of the British plantations, which was communicated to Sir Robert Walpole. But "the grand minister and those about him were too solicitously concerned for their own standing to lay anything to heart that was at so great a distance."

The avenue from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, by way of the Miami of the lakes, came more and more into use. Emigrants from Canada continued to increase the settlement at the portage on the Wabash, where the post Vincennes was established not later than 1735. In 1742, a few herdsmen gained permission of the natives to pasture their beeves on the fertile fields of Blanche river.

The widest extent of Louisiana was, on the eve of the treaty of Utrecht, expressly asserted in the royal grant of the

exclusive trade of the territory to Anthony Crozat, a French merchant, who had "prospered in opulence to the astonishment of all the world." La Motte Cadillac, the founder of the military post at Detroit, now the royal governor of Louisiana, became his partner.

Hardly had their officers landed at Dauphine island when, in May 1713, a vessel was sent to Vera Cruz; but every Spanish harbor in the Gulf of Mexico was closed against them. Liberty of commerce in the wilderness claimed by Spain was sternly refused. With better success, in 1714, Charleville established a trading-post where now is Nashville.

From the mines of Louisiana it was still hoped to obtain "great quantities of gold and silver." Two pieces of silver ore, left at Kaskaskia by a traveller from Mexico, were exhibited to Cadillac as the produce of a mine in Illinois; and, elated by the seeming assurance of success, he hurried up the river, to find in Missouri abundance of the purest ore of lead, but neither silver nor gold.

The only prosperity of the province had grown out of the enterprise of humble individuals, who had succeeded in instituting a little barter with the natives, and a petty contraband trade with neighboring European settlements. These were cut off by the profitless but fatal monopoly of the Parisian merchant. The Indians were too numerous to be resisted by his factors. The English gradually appropriated the trade with the natives; and every Frenchman in Louisiana, except his agents, fomented opposition to his privileges. Crozat resigned his charter. On receiving it, Louisiana possessed twenty-eight French families: in 1717, when he abandoned it, the troops sent by the king, joined to the colonists, did not swell the inhabitants of the colony to more than seven hundred, including persons of every age, sex, and color. These few were scattered from the neighborhood of the Creeks to Natchitoches. In 1714, with the aid of a band of the Choctas, Fort Toulouse, a small military post, had been built and garrisoned on the head-waters of the Alabama, at the junction of the Coosa and the Tallapoosa. After a short period of hostilities, which sprung in part from the influence of English traders among the Chicasas, Bienville chanted the song of peace with the great chief of the Natchez;

and a fort, built in 1716, and named Rosalie in honor of the countess of Pontchartrain, protected the French commercial establishment in their village. Such was the origin of the city of Natchez. In the Mississippi valley, it is the oldest permanent settlement south of Illinois.

The imagination of France was inflamed, and the commerce and opulence of coming ages was clutched at as within immediate grasp, when John Law obtained the control of the commerce of Louisiana and Canada. The debt which Louis XIV. bequeathed to his successor, after arbitrary reductions, exceeded two milliards of livres; and, to meet the annual interest of eighty millions, the surplus revenues of the state did not yield more than nine millions. In this period of depression, John Law proposed to the regent to liberate the state from its enormous burden, without loans or taxes, by a system which should bring all the money of France on deposit. It was the faith of Law that the currency of a country is but the representative of its moving wealth; that this representative need not possess in itself an intrinsic value, but may be made of shells or paper; that, where gold and silver are the only circulating medium, the wealth of a nation may be at once indefinitely increased by an arbitrary infusion of paper; that credit consists in the excess of circulation over immediate resources; and that the advantage of credit is in the direct ratio of that excess. Applying these maxims to France, he planned the whimsically gigantic project of collecting all the gold and silver of the kingdom into one bank. At first, from his private bank, having a nominal capital of six million livres of which a part was payable in government notes, bills were emitted with moderation; and, while the despotic government had been arbitrarily changing the value of its coin, his notes, being payable in coin at an unvarying standard of weight and fineness, bore a small premium. When Crozat resigned the commerce of Louisiana, it was transferred to the Western company, better known as the company of Mississippi, instituted under the auspices of Law. The stock of the corporation was fixed at two hundred thousand shares, of five hundred livres each, to be paid in any certificates of public debt. Thus, nearly one hundred millions of the most depreciated of the public stocks were suddenly absorbed, the

government changing its obligations from an indebtedness to individuals to an indebtedness to a favored company of its own creation. Through the bank of Law, the interest on the debt was discharged punctually; and, in consequence, the evidences of debt, which were received in payment for stock, rose rapidly from a depreciation of two thirds to par value. Public credit seemed restored as if by a miracle. Tales were revived of the wealth of Louisiana; its ingots of gold had been seen in Paris. The vision of a fertile empire, with plantations, manors, cities, and busy wharfs, a monopoly of commerce throughout all French North America, the richest silver mines and mountains of gold, were blended in the French mind into one boundless promise of treasures. The regent, who saw opening before him unlimited resources; the nobility, the churchmen, who competed for favors from the privileged institution; stock-jobbers, including dukes and peers, marshals and bishops, women of rank, statesmen and courtiers—eager to profit by the sudden and indefinite rise of stocks, conspired to reverence Law as the greatest man of his age.

In September 1717, the Western company obtained its grant. On the twenty-fifth day of August 1718, after a long but happy voyage, the Victory, the Duchess of Noailles, and the Mary, bearing eight hundred emigrants for Louisiana, chanted their Te Deum as they cast anchor near Dauphine island. Bienville, in the midsummer of that year, had selected the site for the capital of the new empire; and from the regent of France, the promised city received the name of New Orleans. The emigrants disembarked on the crystalline sands of Dauphine island, to make their way as they could to the lands that had been ceded to them. Some perished for want of enterprise, some from the climate; those who prospered, did so by their own indomitable energy. The Canadian Du Tissenet, purchasing a compass, and taking an escort of fourteen Canadians, went fearlessly from Dauphine island by way of the Mobile river to Quebec, and returned to the banks of the Mississippi with his family. The most successful colonists of Louisiana were hardy emigrants from Canada, who brought with them little beyond a staff and the coarse clothes that covered them.

Of the new-comers from France, eighty convicts were sent to the site of New Orleans, to prepare room for a few tents and cottages; but the emigrants still continued to disembark on the coast; and, in 1721, Bienville himself for a second time established the head-quarters of Louisiana at Biloxi.

Meantime, Alberoni, the minister of Spain, having, contrary to its interests and to those of France, involved the two countries in a war, Serigny arrived, in February of 1719, with orders to take possession of the bay and fort of Pensacola. On the margin of the bay, called, in the days of De Soto, Anchusi, afterward, in 1693, St. Mary, and St. Mary of Galve, Don Andrés de Arricla had, in 1696, built a fort, a church, and a few houses, in a place without commerce or agriculture, or productive labor of any kind. On the fourteenth of May 1719, the fort, after five hours' resistance, surrendered, and the French hoped to extend their power to the Atlantic. But within forty days the Spaniards recovered the town, and attempted, in their turn, to conquer the French posts on Dauphine island and on the Mobile. In September, the French recovered Pensacola, which, by the treaty of 1721, reverted to Spain. The tidings of peace were welcomed at Biloxi with heartfelt joy.

But a change had taken place in the fortunes of the Mississippi company. By its connection with the bank of Law, its first attempts at colonization were conducted with careless prodigality. The richest and the most inviting lands in the southern valley of the Mississippi, were conceded to companies or to individuals who sought principalities in the New World. It was hoped that at once six thousand white colonists would be established in Louisiana. To Law himself there was granted a vast prairie on the Arkansas, where he designed to plant a city and villages, and his investments rapidly amounted to a million and a half of livres. But the decline of Louisiana followed on the financial changes in France.

In January of 1719, the bank of Law became, by a negotiation with the regent, the Bank of France; and a government which had almost absolute power of legislation conspired to give the widest extension to what was called credit. The contest between paper and specie began to rage; the one buoyed

up by despotic power, the other appealing to common sense. Within four years, a succession of decrees changed the relative value of the livre not less than fifty times, that, from disgust at fluctuation, paper at a fixed rate might be preferred. All taxes were to be collected in paper; at last, paper was made the legal tender in all payments. To win the little gold and silver that was hoarded by the humbler classes, small bills, as low even as of ten livres, were put in circulation. The purchase of the bank by the government met less opposition, when a second scheme was devised for absorbing its issues. Two kinds of paper, bills payable on demand and certificates of stock, were put abroad together; and the stupendous project was formed of paying off the public debt in bank-bills, to absorb which new shares in the Mississippi company, under the title of the Company of the Indies, were constantly created and offered for sale. The extravagance of hope was nourished by the successive surrender to that corporation of additional monopolies—the trade in Africans, the trade on the Indian seas, the sale of tobacco, the profits of the royal mint, the profits of farming the whole revenue of France—till a promise of a dividend of forty per cent, from a company which had the custody of the revenues and the benefit of the commerce of France, obtained belief. Avarice became a frenzy; its fury seized every member of the royal family, men of letters, prelates, and women. Early in the morning, the exchange opened with beat of drum and sound of bell, and closed at night on avidity that could not slumber. To doubt the wealth of Louisiana provoked anger. New Orleans was famous at Paris as a city before its canebrakes were cut down. The hypocrisy of manners, which in the old age of Louis XIV. made religion a fashion, revolted to libertinism; and licentious pleasure was become the parent of an equally licentious cupidity. In the course of sixteen months, more than two milliards of stock were emitted; and the regent's mother could write that "all the king's debts were paid." The extravagances of stock-jobbing were increased by the latent distrust alike of the shares and of the bills; men purchased stock because they feared the end of the paper system, and because with the bills they could purchase nothing else. The parliament protested that private

persons were by the system defrauded of three fifths of their income. To stifle doubt, Law, who had made himself a Catholic, was, in January 1720, appointed comptroller-general; and, in the next month, the new minister of finance perfected the triumph of paper by a decree that no person or corporation should have on hand more than five hundred livres in specie; the rest must be exchanged for paper, and all payments, except for sums under one hundred livres, must be paid in paper. Terror and the dread of informers brought, within three weeks, forty-four millions into the bank. In March, a decree of council fixed the value of the stock at nine thousand livres for five hundred, and forbade certain corporations to invest money in anything else; all circulation of gold and silver, except for change, was prohibited; all payments must be made in paper, except for sums under ten livres. He who should have attempted to convert a bill into specie would have exposed his specie to forfeiture and himself to fines. Confidence disappeared, and, in May, bankruptcy was avowed by a decree which reduced the value of bank-notes by a moiety. The French people remained faithful to their delusion till France was impoverished, public and private credit subverted, the income of capitalists annihilated, and labor left without employment; while, in the midst of the universal wretchedness of the middling class, a few wary speculators, profiting by fluctuations, gloried in their wrongfully acquired wealth. The chancellor Aguesseau, who was driven from office because he could show no favor to the system, was, after a short retirement, restored to greater honors than before, and lives in memory as a tolerant and incorruptible statesman; while those who assisted the recklessness of Law have been rescued from infamy only by oblivion.

The downfall of Law abruptly curtailed expenditures for Louisiana. But a colony was already planted, destined to encounter and survive all dangers. Charlevoix, the enlightened traveller, held America happy as the land in which the patriot could point to no ruins of a more prosperous age, and predicted that the site where he found, in 1722, "two hundred persons encamped on the borders of a great river" to build a city, on land "still almost entirely covered with forest-trees and canes,

would become, and perhaps at no distant day, the opulent metropolis of a grand and rich colony. I found this opinion," he said, "on the situation of the place, within twenty-four hours from the sea; on the fertility of its soil; the softness and goodness of its climate; the industry of its inhabitants; the neighborhood of Mexico, of Havana, of the most beautiful isles of America, and of the English colonies. What more is needed to make the city flourishing? Rome and Paris were not built under so happy auspices; nor did they offer the advantages which we find in the Mississippi, compared with which the Seine and the Tiber are but rivulets."

For the time, the disenchanted public would see in Louisiana nothing but the graves of emigrants. In 1722, the garrison at Fort Toulouse revolted; and, of the soldiers, six-and-twenty attempted to reach the English settlements of Carolina. When, in 1727, a Jesuit priest arrived at the domain granted to Law on the Arkansas, he found only thirty needy Frenchmen who had been abandoned by their employer, and had no consolation but in the blandness of the climate and the unrivalled fertility of the soil.

From the easier connection of Mobile with the sea, it remained a principal post; but, in August of 1723, the quarters of Bienville were transferred to New Orleans, where the central point of French power, after hovering round Ship island and Dauphine island, the bays of Biloxi and Mobile, was at last established. The emigrants to Arkansas removed to lands on the river nearer that city.

The villages of the Natchez, planted in the midst of the most fertile climes of the South-west, rose near the banks of the Mississippi. There was among the Natchez no greater culture than among the Choctas; and their manners hardly differed from those of northern tribes, except as they were modified by climate; but the accounts which we have of them are meagre, and wanting in scientific exactness.

The French, who were cantoned among the Natchez, coveted their soil; the French commander, Chopart, required for a plantation the very site of their principal village. The tribe listened to the counsels of the Chicasas; they gained in part the support of the Choctas; and a general massacre of the

intruders was concerted. On the morning of the twenty-eighth of November 1729, the work of blood began, and before noon nearly every Frenchman in the colony was murdered.

At that time, the Jesuit Du Poisson was the missionary among the Arkansas. Two years before, he had made his way up the Mississippi from New Orleans till he reached the prairies that had been selected for the plantations of Law, and smoked the calumet with the southernmost tribes of the Dakotas. Desiring to plan a settlement near the margin of the Mississippi, he touched at Natchez in search of counsel, preached on the first Sunday in advent, visited the sick, and was returning with the host from the cabin of a dying man, when he, too, was struck to the ground, and beheaded. Du Codère, the commander of the post among the Yazoos, who had drawn his sword to defend the missionary, was killed by a musket-ball, and scalped because his hair was long and beautiful. The planter Koli, a Swiss by birth, one of the most worthy members of the colony, had come with his son to take possession of a tract of land on St. Catharine's creek; and both were shot. The Capuchin missionary among the Natchez, returning from an accidental absence, was killed near his cabin, and a negro slave by his side. Two white men, both mechanics, and two only, were saved. The number of victims was reckoned at two hundred. Women were spared for menial services; children, as captives. When the work of death was finished, pillage and carousals began.

The news spread dismay in New Orleans. Each house was supplied with arms; the city fortified by a ditch. Danger appeared on every side. The negroes, of whom the number was about two thousand, half as many as the French, showed symptoms of revolt. But the brave Le Sueur won the Choctas to his aid, and was followed across the country by seven hundred of their warriors. On the river, the forces of the French were assembled, and placed under the command of Loubois.

Le Sueur was the first to arrive in the vicinity of the Natchez. On the evening of the twenty-eighth of January 1730, they gave themselves up to sleep, after a day of festivity. On the following morning, at daybreak, the Choctas broke

into their villages, liberated their captives, and, losing but two of their own men, brought off sixty scalps with eighteen prisoners.

In February 1730, the French besieged the Natchez in their home. They escaped by night across the Mississippi. Pursued in the next year, their greatest chief, "the Sun," and more than four hundred others, chiefly women and children, were taken prisoners and sold as slaves in Hispaniola. Before the end of 1731 the Natchez, wasted by further encounters, ceased to be a nation.

The cost of defending Louisiana exceeding the returns from its commerce and from grants of land, the company of the Indies, seeking wealth by conquests or traffic on the coast of Guinea and Hindostan, solicited leave to surrender the Mississippi wilderness; and, on the tenth of April 1732, the jurisdiction and control over its commerce reverted to the crown of France. The company had held possession of Louisiana for fourteen years, which were its only years of comparative prosperity. The early extravagant hopes had continued long enough to attract emigrants, who, being once established, took care of themselves. In 1735, the Canadian Bienville reappeared to assume the command for the king.

The great object of the crown was the establishment of its power in Louisiana. The Chicasaws were the dreaded enemies, who had hurried the Natchez to bloodshed and destruction; in their cedar barks, shooting boldly into the Mississippi, they interrupted the connection between Kaskaskia and New Orleans. They maintained their savage independence, and weakened by dividing the French empire. They made all settlements on the eastern bank of the Mississippi unsafe from the vicinity of New Orleans to Kaskaskia. They welcomed the English traders from Carolina to their villages; they even endeavored to debauch the affections of the Illinois, and to extirpate French dominion from the West. After nearly two years' preparation, in 1736, the whole force of the colony at the South, with Artaguette and troops from his command in Illinois and probably from the Wabash, was directed to meet, on the tenth of May, in their land. The government of France had itself given directions for the invasion, and watched the issue of the strife.

From New Orleans, the fleet of thirty boats and as many pirogues departed for Fort Condé at Mobile, which it did not leave till the fourth of April. In sixteen days, it ascended the river to Tombigbee, a fort which an advanced party had constructed on the west bank of the river, two hundred and fifty miles above the bay. Of the men employed in its construction, some attempted to escape into the wilderness: by sentence of a court-martial, they were shot.

The Choctaws, lured by gifts of merchandise and high rewards for every scalp, gathered at Fort Tombigbee to aid Bienville. Of these red auxiliaries, the number was about twelve hundred; and the whole party slowly sounded its way up the windings of the Tombigbee to the point where Cotton Gin Port now stands, and which was but about twenty-one miles south-east of the great village of the Chicasaws. There the artillery was deposited in a temporary fortification; and the forests and prairies between the head-sources of the Tombigbee and the Tallahatchie were disturbed by the march of the army toward the long house of their enemy. After the manner of Indian warfare, they encamped, on the evening of the twenty-fifth of May, at the distance of a league from the village. In the morning, before day, they advanced to surprise the Chicasaws. In vain. The brave warriors, whom they had come to destroy, were on the watch; their intrenchments were strong; English flags waved over their fort; English traders had assisted them in preparing defence. Twice during the day an attempt was made to storm their log citadel; and twice the French were repelled, with a loss of thirty killed, of whom four were officers. The next day saw skirmishes between parties of Choctaws and Chicasaws. On the twenty-ninth, the retreat began; on the thirty-first of May, Bienville dismissed the Choctaws, having satisfied them with presents; and, throwing his cannon into the Tombigbee, his party ingloriously floated down the river. In the last days of June, he landed on the banks of the bayou St. John.

The young Artaguette had gained glory in the war against the Natchez, braving death under every form. Advanced to the command in Illinois, he obeyed the summons of Bienville; and, with an army of about fifty French soldiers and

more than a thousand red men, accompanied by Father Senat and by the Canadian Vincennes, the careful hero stole cautiously and unobserved into the country of the Chicasaws, and, on the evening before the appointed day, encamped among the sources of the Yalabusha. But the expected army from below did not arrive. For ten days he retained his impatient allies in the vicinity of their enemy; at last, as they menaced desertion, he consented to an attack. His measures were wisely arranged. One fort was carried, and the Chicasaws driven from the cabins which it protected; at the second, the intrepid youth was equally successful; on attacking the third fort, he received one wound, and then another, and in the moment of victory was disabled. The red men from Illinois, dismayed at the check, fled precipitately. Voisin, a lad of but sixteen years, conducted the retreat of the French, having the enemy at his heels for five-and-twenty leagues, marching forty-five leagues without food, while his men carried with them such of the wounded as could bear the fatigue. The unhappy Artaguette was left weltering in his blood, and by his side lay others of his bravest troops. The Jesuit Senat might have escaped; he remained to receive the last sigh of the wounded. Vincennes, the Canadian, refused to fly, and shared the captivity of his gallant leader. After the Indian custom, their wounds were stanched; they were received into the cabins of the Chicasaws, and feasted bountifully. When Bienville had retreated, the captives were brought into a field; and, while one was spared to relate the deed, the adventurous Artaguette, the faithful Senat, true to his mission, Vincennes, whose name will be perpetuated as long as the Wabash shall flow by the dwellings of civilized man—these, with the rest of the captives, were bound to the stake, and neither valor nor piety could save them from death by slow torments and fire. Such is the early history of the state of Mississippi.

Ill success did but increase the disposition to continue the war. To advance the colony, a royal edict of 1737 permitted a ten-years' freedom of commerce between the West India islands and Louisiana; while a new expedition against the Chicasaws, receiving aid not from Illinois only, but even from Montreal and Quebec, and from France, made its rendezvous

in Arkansas, on the St. Francis river. In the last of June 1739, the collective army, composed of twelve hundred whites and twice that number of red and black men, took up its quarters in Fort Assumption, on the bluff of Memphis. But the recruits from France and the Canadians languished in the climate. When, in March 1740, a small detachment proceeded toward the Chicasaw country, they were met by messengers of peace; and Bienville gladly accepted the calumet. The fort at Memphis was razed; the troops from Illinois and from Canada drew back; the fort on the St. Francis was dismantled. From Kaskaskia to Baton Rouge the jurisdiction of France was but a name.

The population of Louisiana, more than a half-century after the first attempt at colonization by La Salle, may have been five thousand whites and half that number of blacks. Louis XIV. had fostered it with pride and liberal expenditures; an opulent merchant, famed for his successful enterprise, assumed its direction; the company of the Mississippi, aided by boundless but transient credit, had made it the foundation of their hopes; and, again, Fleury and Louis XV. had sought to advance its fortunes. Priests and friars, dispersed through nations from Biloxi to the Dakotas, propitiated the favor of the savages. Yet all its patrons had not brought to it a tithe of the prosperity which, within the same period, grew out of the benevolence of William Penn to the peaceful settlers on the Delaware.

CHAPTER XV.

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

At the accession of George I., the continental colonies counted three hundred and seventy-five thousand seven hundred and fifty white inhabitants, and fifty-eight thousand eight hundred and fifty black—in all, four hundred and thirty-four thousand six hundred souls—and were increasing with unexampled rapidity. The value of their imports from England, on an average of the first three years of George I., was a little less than two millions of dollars; of their exports, a little less than seventeen hundred thousand dollars; their domestic commerce equalled that with England; their trade with the British and foreign West Indies, the Azores, and the continent of Europe, exceeded both. They had institutions like those of the mother country: and the house of Hanover was to them the symbol of liberty.

As a guide for the next twenty-six years through the chaos of colonial administration, a discrimination must be made between the acts which the British parliament abandoned to the discretion of the ministry, and the points of policy which it imperatively and inflexibly dictated.

It was a period of corruption. The men in power used their patronage unscrupulously, providing for their relatives, or dependents, or partisans, not merely by naming them to offices in the colonies, but by bestowing on them the disposition of offices, which the actual holders either bought at an unreasonable price or by setting apart for their patron a large proportion of the emoluments to which they could be honestly entitled. Wherever a colony granted the crown a perpetual revenue it was sure to be charged with English sinecures or

pensions. Horatio, a brother of Sir Robert Walpole, for example, under the title of "auditor-general" for the colonies, obtained a sinecure grant of one twentieth part of the revenues of the crown in all the West Indian and North American colonies. The places of governors were through family favor often shamelessly filled by the least worthy, some of whom were as ready to further their own interests by circumventing the crown as by oppressing the people. It would have been very easy for the British government to have conciliated affection and respect by an honest use of the public money; but the avidity of the persons holding office was constant and too strong.

But there was no forbearance when the interests of British commerce and manufactures were in question. In May 1718, Massachusetts imposed a duty on English manufactures, and, as its own citizens built six thousand tons of shipping annually, it favored their industry by a small discrimination. "In a little time," it was said of them, "they will be able to live without Great Britain; and their ability, joined to their inclination, will be of very ill consequence." The impost on English goods, though of but one per cent, was negatived by the king, with the warning "that the passage of such acts endangers the charter."

Every branch of consumption was, as far as practicable, secured to English manufacturers; every form of competition by colonial industry was discouraged or forbidden. It was found that hats were well made in the land of furs: the London company of hatters remonstrated; and their craft was protected by an act forbidding hats to be transported from one plantation to another. The proprietors of English iron-works were jealous of American industry. In 1719, news came from Samuel Shute, the royal governor of Massachusetts, that, in some parts of his government, "the inhabitants worked up their wool and flax, and made a coarse cloth for their own use; that they manufactured great part of their leather; that there were hatters in the maritime towns; and that six furnaces and nineteen forges were set up for making iron." The spectres of these six furnaces and nineteen forges haunted the public imagination for a quarter of a century. The house of com-

mons readily resolved that "the erecting manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependence;" and, under pretence of encouraging the importation of American lumber, they passed a bill having the clause, "that none in the plantations should manufacture iron wares of any kind out of any sows, pigs, or bars whatsoever." The house of lords added "that no forge, going by water, or other works should be erected in any of the said plantations, for the making, working, or converting of any sows, pigs, or cast-iron into bar or rod iron." But the opposition of the northern colonies defeated the bill, which forbade the colonists to manufacture a bolt or a nail.

The board of trade, after long inquiry, in September 1721, made an elaborate report of the statistics of colonial commerce, eagerly adopting every view which magnified its importance. They found that it yielded in favor of Great Britain a yearly balance of two hundred thousand pounds; and that, on a fair estimate of indirect advantages, the colonies gave employment to one fourth, or perhaps even one third, of the whole navigation of Great Britain. Their statements, which seemed to justify the boast of a colonial agent, "that London had risen out of the plantations, and not out of England," were received as the results of exact inquiries, and formed the motive to the policy of succeeding years.

From 1721, Sir Robert Walpole had, during more than twenty years, the undisputed direction of English affairs. He found parliament a corrupt body, and, to govern its members, he adopted the methods which they required; but, in his happier hours, there were those who had

> "Seen him, uncumber'd with a venal tribe,
> Smile without art, and win without a bribe."

It is his glory that he refused to intrust measures of cruelty to executive discretion, saying, with the highest wisdom: "He that gives the power of blood gives blood." Of the American colonies he knew little, but they profited by the character of a statesman who shunned compulsory processes that might provoke an insurrection, and rejected every proposition for revenue that needed the sabre and bayonet for its collection. It was his purpose to make England the home of

the industrial arts and of commerce. Export duties on all goods of British produce were abolished, thus gaining for mankind some advance toward freedom of intercourse. The British colonial monopoly was confirmed. In the seventh year of George I., the importation of East Indian goods into the colonies was prohibited, except from Great Britain; and thus the colonists virtually paid on them the duties retained on their exportation. Furs from the plantations were enumerated among the commodities which could be exported only to Great Britain; so, too, ore from the abundant copper mines of America. The reservation of the pine-trees of the north for the British navy was continned; and the jurisdiction of the court of vice-admiralty extended to offenders against the act. The bounties on hemp and naval stores were renewed, and the export of wood and lumber from the colonies was made free.

By restricting American manufactures, the board of trade, the ministry, the united voice of Great Britain, proposed to guarantee dependence. No sentiment won more universal acceptance. Fashion adopted it; Queen Caroline and the prince of Wales were its patrons; and, in 1729, Joshua Gee, who had already for many years been consulted by the board of trade, and who is said to have advised an American stamp act by parliament, embodied the ancient prohibitory maxims in a work which was placed in the hands of the ministry and the royal family. "As people had been filled with fears that the colonies, if encouraged to raise rough materials, would set up for themselves," he recommended the prohibition of colonial manufactures as the security of England. Others proposed that "an exact account be taken of all looms now erected in the plantations, and that for the future no other or more looms be tolerated." These views prevailed at court, in the board of trade, and throughout England. Men, who heard with indifference of the bickerings of colonial governors with the legislatures, demanded the destruction of all "the iron-works in the plantations."

For colonists to manufacture like Englishmen was esteemed an audacity, to be rebuked and to be restrained by every device of law. The mercantile restrictive system was the superstition of that age. Capitalists worshipped it; statesmen were

overawed by it; philosophers dared not question it. England believed itself free from bigotry; and its mind had bowed to a new idolatry. Now was quickened the inquisition by authority into American industry, of which every governor was enjoined to report the condition. Spain had never watched more jealously the growth of free opinion, than British statesmanship the development of colonial enterprise. Ireland, which had been excluded from the American trade as carefully as France or Portugal, could still import hops from America; now the growers of hops in England arrogated the market of the sister kingdom exclusively to themselves. Bounties were renewed to naval stores, but naval stores were enumerated, so that they could be carried to Great Britain only. Debts due in the plantations to Englishmen might be proved before an English magistrate; and, overthrowing the laws of Virginia, the parliament made lands in the plantations liable for debts. That America, the home of the beavers, might not manufacture its own hats, it was enacted that none should be hatters, nor employed as journeymen, who had not served an apprenticeship of seven years; that no hatter should employ more than two apprentices; that no negro should serve at the work; that no American hats should be shipped from one plantation to another, nor be loaded upon any horse, cart, or carriage for conveying from one plantation to another. Similar rules were proposed for American iron; but the English ironmongers asked for a total prohibition of forges; and the English landlords, of furnaces for preparing the rough material, because the fires in America diminished the value of British woodlands. In the conflict the subject was postponed.

A measure, adopted in 1733, brought America nearer to independence. England favored the islands more than the continent; for the West Indians were as the bees which bring all their honey home to the hive. Moreover, the planters dwelt in England, and held estates there which gave them weight in parliament. For many years, even from the reign of William of Orange, they had sought to prohibit, as "pernicious," all trade between the northern colonies and the French and Spanish and Dutch West India islands.

After the peace of Utrecht, the English continental colo-

nies grew accustomed to a modest commerce with the islands of the French and Dutch, purchasing of them sugar, rum, and molasses, in return for provisions, horses, and lumber. The sugar colonies, always eager for themselves to engage in contraband trade with the Spanish provinces, demanded of parliament a prohibition of all intercourse between the northern colonies and any tropical islands but the British.

In the formation of the colonial system, each European nation valued most the colonies of which the products least interfered with its own. England was willing, therefore, to check the North and to favor the South. Hence permission was given to the planters of Carolina, and afterward of Georgia, to ship their rice directly to any port in Europe south of Cape Finisterre. Hence, when, in November 1724, the ship-carpenters of the river Thames complained "that their trade was hurt, and that their workmen emigrated because so many vessels were built in New England," the board of trade supported their complaints; and when, a few years later, in imitation of the French policy, liberty was granted for carrying sugar from the British sugar plantations directly to foreign markets, ships built and ships owned in the American plantations were excluded from the privilege. Hence, also, the tropical products, especially the products of the cane, formed the central point of colonial policy. To monopolize the culture of sugar and the traffic in slaves became the cardinal object of English commercial ambition.

The great patron of the islands against "the continent" was the irritated auditor-general for the plantations, Horatio Walpole. The house of commons, thinking to adopt a compromise between their interests, still permitted the northern colonies to find a market for their fish, lumber, provisions, horses, and other produce in the foreign islands, but, in 1733, resolved to impose on the return cargo a discriminating duty. "Such impositions," said Rhode Island, in its petition to the house of commons, "would be highly prejudicial to our charter." "The petition," objected Sir William Yonge, "looks mighty like aiming at independence and disclaiming the authority of this house, as if this house had not a power to tax them." "I hope," said another, "they have no charter which

debars this house from taxing them, as well as any other subjects;" while a third held that, "as the colonies are all a part of the people of Great Britain, they are generally represented in this house as well as the rest of the people are." On the other hand, Sir John Barnard urged the reception of the petition, since its presentation "was a direct acknowledgment of the authority of the house;" and Pulteney, Sir William Windham, and their associates, argued that the petition should at least be read. But the commons would receive none against a money bill.

New York esteemed the imposition of the proposed duties worse than the prohibition; its merchants appealed to the equity of the house of lords, on account of "the inconvenience to trade;" and Partridge, the agent of the New York merchants, having enclosed their petition to Newcastle, added: "The bill is divesting them of their rights as the king's natural born subjects and Englishmen, in levying subsidies on them against their consent, when they are annexed to no county in Britain, have no representative in parliament, nor are any part of the legislature of this kingdom. It will be drawn into a precedent hereafter."

Petitions, arguments, and appeals were disregarded; and, after two years' discussion, an act of parliament, recognising the prosperity of "the sugar colonies in America as of the greatest consequence to the trade of England," "gave and granted" a duty of ninepence on every gallon of rum, sixpence on every gallon of molasses, and five shillings on every hundred-weight of sugar imported from foreign colonies into any of the British plantations. The penalties under the act were recoverable in the courts of admiralty.

Here was an act of the British parliament, to be executed by officers of royal appointment, levying a tax on consumption in America. In England, it was afterward appealed to as a precedent; in America, the sixpence duty on molasses had the effect of a prohibition, and led only to clandestine importations. The enactment had its motive in the desire to secure the monopoly of the colonial market to the British sugar plantations; and failed entirely in its purpose. No money went into the British treasury. The British officials sent over to

America to collect a revenue seized the opportunity to enrich themselves by connivance at free trade in sugar and molasses. It is Belcher, a royal governor of Massachusetts, who wrote: "No prince ever had such a crew of villains to betray his interests and break the acts of trade." This connivance continued until the next generation, as we know from Hutchinson, and the revenue officers excused themselves because "they were quartered upon" by their patrons in England for all the income that they could gain honestly.

In 1740, Ashley, a well-informed writer, proposed to secure a revenue by reducing the duty to one half or one third, or even to a sixth, of the old rate.

The inexorable zeal which never rested in its warfare against the growth of American manufactures, slumbered over the contests which arose between the office-holders, who were always, without regard to right, struggling for increased emoluments, and the colonies, which were careful to restrain their cupidity. The holders of the offices themselves were always on the alert to identify their own interest with the honor of the crown and the power of parliament, but the English public looked upon the strife with great indifference. A colonial legislature had but two modes of effectual resistance: one was to be so frugal and specifically exact in its appropriations that they could not be misused; the other, to keep the royal governor on his good behavior by making him dependent on an annual grant for his salary and its amount. In Massachusetts, the house never passed an impost bill or bill for the general tax for the support of government nor granted a salary to the governor for a longer term than one year.

Within the province of Maine there was a reservation for the benefit of the crown of the pine-trees in the forests suited for masts. The surveyor of the woods was charged with permitting such persons as would pay him for it, to cut down the very logs and timber which he gave out to be the king's, and the house of representatives, after inquiry, found cause to condemn the surveyor. The board of trade, without entering into any inquiry, sent back the accusation brought against the surveyor as an exparte document. To prevent the publication of an answer by the house to one of his speeches, Shute claimed

under his instructions power over the press; with no result except that, through the resistance which he roused, the press in Massachusetts from that time became free. He negatived the choice to the council of Elisha Cooke, the younger, heir to his father's virtues. Cooke was promptly chosen a representative of Boston, and, in 1720, was elected speaker of the house. The governor disapproved the election; the house treated his disapproval as a nullity. The governor dissolved the assembly; and, in July, the new representatives punished him by reducing his half-year's gratuity from six hundred to five hundred pounds in a depreciating currency. In the following November, they appointed "one or more meet persons" to inspect the forts and garrisons and the condition of the forces employed for protection against the eastern Indians, and again curtailed the governor's salary. In May 1721, they would not ask the governor's assent to their choice of speaker, and refused to make any grants of money for public salaries until the governor should accept their acts, resolves, and elections. "They are more fit for the affairs of farming," wrote Shute, "than for the duty of legislators; they show no regard to the royal prerogative or instructions."

How to get an American revenue at the royal disposition remained a problem. In a report made in February 1719, at the command of the board of trade, Sir William Keith, of Pennsylvania, in concert with the more discreet Logan, explained the rapid progress of the French, proposed a system of frontier defence, and enforced the "necessity that some method be projected whereby each colony shall be obliged to bear its proportionable share of expense." To accomplish this end, the board, in September 1721, brought forward a new system of colonial administration by a concentration in their own hands of power over the colonies. They recommended that the first commissioner of their board, like the first lord of the treasury and of the admiralty, should have immediate access to the sovereign. As "the most effectual way" of ruling in America, they proposed to consolidate all the continental provinces under the government of one lord lieutenant or captain-general, who should have a fixed salary independent of the pleasure of the inhabitants, and should be constantly attended by two members

of each provincial assembly; one of the two to be elected every year. This general council might "not meddle with or alter the manner of government in any province," but should have power to allot to each one its quota of men and money, which the several assemblies would then raise by laws.

Of the charter governments it was said that they had neglected the defence of the country; had exercised power arbitrarily; had disregarded the acts of trade; had made laws repugnant to English legislation; and, by fostering the numbers and wealth of their inhabitants, were creating formidable antagonists to English industry. Moreover, "too great an inclination was shown by them to be independent of their mother kingdom." The board of trade therefore advised "that the charters should be reassumed to the crown, as one of those essential points without which the colonies could never be put upon a right footing;" and next, that "they should be compelled by proper laws to follow the commands sent them. It hath ever," they added, "been the wisdom not only of Great Britain, but likewise of all other states, to secure by all possible means the entire, absolute, and immediate dependency of their colonies." And they pressed for the instant adoption of their scheme, which, like that of 1696, had some features of a military dictatorship. It seemed "past all doubt that a bill would be brought into the house of commons at their next session to disfranchise the charter governments."

At this moment of danger, Jeremiah Dummer, a native of Boston, a graduate of Harvard college, now agent of Massachusetts, came forward in behalf of the New England charters, menaced alike by parliament and by the prerogative. In their "Defence," of which Lord Carteret, afterward earl of Granville, accepted the dedication, he argued that the three New England colonies held their charters by compact, having obtained them as a consideration for the labor of those who redeemed the wilderness and annexed it to the English dominions; that the charters did but establish the political relation between the colonies and Great Britain; that the crown, having itself no right in the soil, neither did nor could grant it; that the Americans held their lands by purchases from the natives and their own industry and daring; that, if the planters

had foreseen that their privileges would be such transitory things, they never would have engaged in their costly and hazardous enterprise; that, but for them, France would have multiplied its settlements till she had reigned sole mistress of North America; that, far from neglecting their defence, the glorious deeds of their soldiers, if they must not shine in British annals, would consecrate their memory in their own country, and there, at least, transmit their fame to the latest posterity; that the charters themselves contained the strongest barriers against arbitrary rule, in the annual election of magistrates; that violations of the acts of navigation, which equally occurred in every British seaport, were the frauds of individuals, not the fault of the community; that, in the existing state of things, all the officers of the revenue were appointed by the crown, and all breaches of the acts of trade cognizable only in the court of admiralty; that colonial laws, repugnant to those of England, far from effecting a forfeiture of the charters, were of themselves, by act of parliament, illegal, null, and void; that the crown had no interest to resume the charters, since it could derive no benefit but from the trade of the colonies, and the nursery of trade is a free government, where the laws are sacred; that justice absolutely forbade a bill of attainder against the liberties of states; that it would be a severity without a precedent if a people should in one day, unsummoned and unheard, be deprived of all the valuable privileges which they and their fathers had enjoyed for near a hundred years. And as the plan of the board of trade was recommended by the fear that the colonies would, "in the course of some years, throw off their dependence and declare themselves a free state," as men in office "professed their belief of the feasibleness of it, and the probability of its some time coming to pass," he set forth that the colonies would not be able to succeed in the undertaking, "unless they could first strengthen themselves by a confederacy of all the parts;" and that their independence would be hastened, if "all the governments on the continent be brought under one viceroy and into one assembly."

Such were the arguments urged in September 1721, by Dummer, of New England, who, "in the scarcity of friends

to those governments," gained a tongue to assert their liberties. The bill for abrogating the charters was dropped. The earl of Stair, who was selected to be the viceroy of America, having declined the station, the scheme of the board of trade was allowed to slumber. In 1722, the liberal Trenchard, whose words were very widely read, foresaw that "the colonies when they grew stronger might attempt to wean themselves," and for that very reason counselled moderation and forbearance. "It is not to be hoped," thus he reasoned publicly and wisely, "that any nation will be subject to another any longer than it finds its own account in it and cannot help itself. Our northern colonies must constantly increase in people, wealth, and power. They have doubled their inhabitants since the revolution, and in less than a century must become powerful states; and the more powerful they grow, still the more people will flock thither. And there are so many exigencies in all states, so many foreign wars and domestic disturbances, that these colonies can never want opportunities, if they watch for them, to do what they shall find it their interest to do; and, therefore, we ought to take all the precaution in our power that it shall never be their interest to act against that of their native country."

These words of Trenchard still rung in the public ear, when, in 1723, Samuel Shute, then the governor of Massachusetts, suddenly appeared in England, having fled secretly from his government. He came to complain to the king that the representatives had trampled on the prerogative, had adjourned against his will, had assembled again at their own appointed time, and had gained to themselves a control over the movements of colonial troops and the appointment of their commanders. Especially he complained of "Boston, a town of eighteen thousand inhabitants." Its liberties were described as the want "of proper police;" its ardent love of freedom, as "a levelling spirit;" the conduct of its citizens as an aptitude "to be mutinous;" its influence, as swaying the country representatives "to make continual encroachments on the few prerogatives left to the crown." "The cry of the city of London was exceedingly against" the people of Massachusetts; it was feared that the spirit of 1641 still lived beyond the Atlantic; and even Neal, the historian and friend of New England, censured

the younger Elisha Cooke, as endangering the charter. The board of trade saw high treason in the interference of the assembly with the militia; they reported to the lords of council that "the inhabitants were daily endeavoring to wrest the small remains of power out of the hands of the crown, and to become independent of the mother kingdom." To make the danger apparent, they recounted the populousness of the province, the strength of its militia, the number of its mariners; they apprised the privy council of the importance of restraining "so powerful a colony within due bounds of obedience to the crown;" and, as the only remedy, they demanded, without loss of time, "the effectual interposition of the British legislature."

At a moment when the administration of the colonies was fraught with so many difficulties, Walpole conferred the management of them with the seals of the southern department of state on the young duke of Newcastle, who owed his consequence to the number of members of parliament dependent on him for their return. He was ruled by an insatiable passion for holding high office, but was untainted by avarice, and free from a disposition to cruelty. He owed much to the faithful guidance and fidelity of his younger brother, Henry Pelham, who was already in the ministry, and was one of the wisest statesmen of his time. The powers of Newcastle's mind did not reach to the formation of a system of administration; he was by nature led to get on as he could from day to day, and in difficult times he was like the stream that cuts its channel along the line of the least resistance. Importuned to distribute places in America, he conferred office, without a scruple, on men too vile to be employed at home, and then left them to look out for themselves. On the questions which had been raised in Massachusetts, the crown lawyers gave a report, deciding every question against the colony, yet not encouraging harsh measures of redress. Newcastle, ascertaining what modifications in its constitution Massachusetts would be willing to accept, in August 1726, gave an explanatory charter to that province, according to which the speaker was to be approved or disapproved by the highest executive officer in the province, and the representatives were to adjourn them-

selves not exceeding two days without leave. The arrears of salary due from that refractory people to the fugitive Shute he settled by a pension out of the revenue of Barbados, which thus found out how unwise it had been in granting the crown a perpetual revenue. The instruction for the permanent grant of a salary to the governor during the time of his service was continued; but the governor was permitted to accept occasional grants if he could do no better.

At the time of a stormy altercation in Jamaica, the crown lawyers were asked if the king or his privy council had not a right to levy taxes upon the inhabitants of Jamaica; and, in May 1724, Sir Philip Yorke, afterward Lord Hardwicke, and Sir Clement Wearg replied: "If Jamaica is to be considered as a colony of English subjects, they cannot be taxed but by the parliament of Great Britain, or some representative body of the people of the island." Proposals for taxing the colonies by act of parliament were not wanting; but from the government they received no support. "I will leave the taxing of the British colonies," such are the words attributed to Sir Robert Walpole toward the close of his ministry, and such certainly were his sentiments, "for some of my successors, who may have more courage than I have, and be less a friend to commerce than I am. It has been a maxim with me," he added, "to encourage the trade of the American colonies to the utmost latitude—nay, it has been necessary to pass over some irregularities in their trade with Europe; for, by encouraging them to an extensive, growing foreign commerce, if they gain five hundred thousand pounds, I am convinced that, in two years afterward, full two hundred and fifty thousand pounds of this gain will be in his majesty's exchequer by the labor and produce of this kingdom, as immense quantities of every kind of our manufactures go thither; and, as they increase in the foreign American trade, more of our produce will be wanted. This is taxing them more agreeably to their own constitution and laws."

Once the legislature of Massachusetts, by petition before the lower house of parliament, brought the question of its right to dispose of all money. The house, after debate, dismissed the petition, as "frivolous and groundless, a high insult upon

his majesty's government, and tending to shake off the dependency of the colony upon the kingdom, to which by law and right they ought to be subject." There the strife ended. When, in 1735, Belcher, a later governor, was allowed to accept his salary by an annual vote, he confessed himself disposed to let the assembly "do the king's business in their own way," with no hint as to the fashion of it but that given by the duchess of Kendall to the goldsmith, when the late king promised her a set of gold plate: "Make them thick and get them done out of hand."

While the ministry sought to avoid contention with the colonies, no member of the board of trade exercised more influence than Martin Bladen, who, in 1719, had been successor to Joseph Addison, and who remained at the board almost forty years. He often expressed the conviction that "the colonies desired to set up for themselves." "Massachusetts," he assured Newcastle, in October 1740, "is a kind of commonwealth, where the king is hardly a stadholder." Belcher describes him as a "proud, imperious creature who lived upon rapine, and yet from his haughtiness died a beggar." When a question arose as to the boundary line which divided New Hampshire from Massachusetts, he obtained an arbitrary decree, which awarded to New Hampshire far more than that government claimed. Massachusetts employed one of its own sons, the able and cultivated Thomas Hutchinson, to protest against the decision; but he was more intent on making friends for himself than supporting the rights of his native colony; and the decree, though wantonly unjust, was enforced. Enlarged by territory from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, in 1741, was erected into a separate government, the only royal government in New England. Benning Wentworth, its first governor, a supporter of the church of England and of kingly authority, arriving in his province in June 1741, "found scarcely the shadow of prerogative." But he promised "to introduce gradually the rights of the crown."

It was in later times recalled to mind that Samuel Adams, a young man of Boston, when in 1743 he took the degree of Master at Harvard college, proposed the question whether it is lawful to resist the supreme magistrate if the commonwealth

cannot be otherwise preserved, and maintained the affirmative of the question.

The administration in England engaged wilfully in a strife with Connecticut, where the freeholders divided their lands among their children. In regard to intestate estates, its law was, in 1728, annulled in England; and the English law, favoring the eldest-born, was declared to be in force among them. The conflict was protracted through more than twenty years before the British government receded from the vain project of enforcing English rules of inheritance of land on the husbandmen of New England.

In September 1720, William Burnet, the son of Bishop Burnet and godson of William III., entered upon the government of New York, burdened by instructions from England to keep alive the assembly which had been chosen several years before. This he did, to the great discontent of the people, until it had lasted more than eleven years. He further provoked invincible opposition by his zeal, under the strict commands of the lords of the treasury, to obtain for Horatio Walpole his sinecure perquisites as auditor-general. Moreover, he supported the court of chancery, of which he as governor was the chancellor. But he was intelligent, and free from avarice. It was he who took possession of Oswego, and he "left no stone unturned to defeat the French designs at Niagara." Nevertheless, for all his merit, in 1728, he was transferred to Massachusetts to make way for the groom of the chamber of George II. while he was prince of Wales.

At the time when the ministry were warned that "the American assemblies aimed at nothing less than being independent of Great Britain as fast as they could," Newcastle sent as governor to New York and New Jersey the dull and ignorant John Montgomerie. Sluggish, yet humane, the pauper chief magistrate had no object in America but to get money; and he escaped contests with the legislatures by giving way to them in all things. Owning himself unqualified, he refused to act as chancellor until enjoined by special orders from England. He died in office in 1731.

His successor, in 1732, was William Cosby, a brother-in-law of the earl of Halifax, and connected with Newcastle. A

boisterous and irritable man, broken in his fortunes, having little understanding and no sense of decorum or of virtue, he had been sent over to clutch at gain. Few men did more to hasten colonial emancipation. Incapable of a political system, he removed Morris, the royalist chief justice of New York, for what the privy council pronounced insufficient reasons, and put James Delancey in his place. "To deter others from being advocates for the Boston principles," he dismissed from the council James Alexander and the elder William Smith, who planned for New York the system of annual grants of support. "Oh, that I could see them on a gallows at the fort gate!" was the "highest wish" of his wife, whose grandson, the duke of Grafton, in less than forty years, became England's prime minister.

To gain very great perquisites, he followed the precedent of Andros in Massachusetts in the days of the Stuarts, and insisted on new surveys of lands and new grants, in lieu of the old. To the objection of acting against law, he answered: "Do you think I mind that? I have a great interest in England." The courts of law were not pliable; and Cosby displaced and appointed judges, without soliciting the consent of the council or waiting for the approbation of the sovereign.

Complaint could be heard only through the press. A newspaper was established to defend the popular cause; and, in November 1734, about a year after its establishment, its printer, John Peter Zenger, a German by birth, who had been an apprentice to the famous printer, William Bradford, and afterward his partner, was imprisoned, by an order of the council, on the charge of publishing false and seditious libels. The grand jury would find no bill against him, and the attorney-general filed an information. The counsel of Zenger took exceptions to the commissions of the judges, because they ran during pleasure, and because they had been granted without the consent of council. The angry judge met the objection by disbarring James Alexander who offered it, though he stood at the head of his profession in New York for sagacity, penetration, and application to business. All the central colonies regarded the controversy as their own. At the trial the publishing was confessed; but the aged and

venerable Andrew Hamilton, who came from Philadelphia to plead for Zenger, justified the publication by asserting its truth. "You cannot be admitted," interrupted the chief justice, "to give the truth of a libel in evidence." "Then," said Hamilton to the jury, "we appeal to you for witnesses of the facts. The jury have a right to determine both the law and the fact, and they ought to do so." "The question before you," he added, "is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone; it is the cause of liberty. Every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honor you as men who, by an impartial verdict, lay a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors that to which nature and the honor of our country have given us a right—the liberty of opposing arbitrary power by speaking and writing truth." The jury gave their verdict, "Not guilty." Hamilton received of the common council of New York the franchises of the city for "his learned and generous defence of the rights of mankind and the liberty of the press."

When, in 1736, on the death of Cosby, Clarke, the deputy of the auditor-general, Horatio Walpole, became lieutenant-governor of New York, he, too, could obtain no obedience to the king's instructions. "Since treason has been committed, he wrote to the board of trade, "examples should be made." In vain did he dissolve one assembly. "No government," thus, in September 1737, did the new assembly address him, "no government can be safe without proper checks upon those intrusted with power. We tell you, you are not to expect that we either will raise sums unfit to be raised, or put what we shall raise into the power of a governor to misapply, if we can prevent it; nor shall we make up any other deficiencies than what we conceive are fit and just to be paid, or continue what support and revenue we shall raise for any longer time than one year; nor do we think it convenient to do even that, until such laws are passed as we conceive to be necessary for the safety of the inhabitants of this colony, who have reposed a trust in us for that only purpose, and, by the grace of God, we will endeavor not to deceive them." Clarke submitted, and, bartering law against law, consented to a bill

for triennial assemblies. In 1743, the term of the New York assembly was fixed by its own act at seven years, as in England. The claim of Horatio Walpole was paid him by the crown officers in defiance of the acts of the colony.

Parliament, in 1729, had ratified the royal purchase of South Carolina. The royal government had hardly been instituted and an assembly convened, before it was said that the governor could not procure a fixed salary; nor "get a fair rent-roll by any means in that country."

In North Carolina, things stood even worse for royalty. On the transfer of its domain from proprietaries to the king, the temporary governor was making haste, by secret grants, to dispose of lands without bargain for quit-rent or price, even issuing blank patents. To organize this government, where so much prudence was required, Newcastle sent a man who was passionate, corrupt, ignorant, and intemperate. In February 1731, he wrote to his patron that "the people of North Carolina were neither to be cajoled nor outwitted; whenever a governor attempts to effect anything by these means, he will lose his labor and show his ignorance." The first assembly which he convened directed its attention to grievances; the country languished under the exactions of oppressive fees; and all his power was exerted to deny the right of instituting inquiry or expressing complaint. The representatives were altogether and undeniably in the right; yet the executive proceeded so far in obloquy and reproof, that the first royal legislature separated without enacting a law.

The assembly, having framed the rent-roll in January 1735, would not permit the council to amend it. The governor, who had no other resource for his salary, attempted to force the payments by instituting a court of exchequer. At a session in March 1737, the assembly imprisoned the king's officers for distraining for rent; and, in its turn, was dissolved, leaving North Carolina without a revenue, its officers without pay.

Virginia had no special subject of contest with the crown; and alone of all the colonies it had no paper money. Until 1721, color made no distinction in the right of the freeman to exercise the elective franchise. In that year, for the first time, a clause, disfranchising free negroes, mulattoes, and Indians,

was inserted in a law for the better government of negroes. The act being referred in England to the lawyer, Richard West, for revision, he reported against the disfranchising clause, saying: "Although I agree that slaves are to be treated in such a manner as the proprietors of them may think it necessary for their security, yet I cannot see why one freeman should be used worse than another merely upon account of his complexion."* But the government took no notice of the objection, and the disfranchising clause was allowed.

The danger that most alarmed the people of Pennsylvania was the prohibition of manufactures. "Some talk of an act of parliament," observed the mildly conservative Logan, in 1728, "to prohibit our making bar iron, even for our own use. Scarce anything could more effectually alienate the minds of the people in these parts, and shake their dependence upon Britain." In Pennsylvania, there existed the fewest checks on the power of the people. "Popular zeal raged as high there as in any country;" and Logan wrote despondingly to the proprietary: "'Liberty and privileges' are ever the cry." "This government under you is not possibly tenable without a miracle." The world was inexperienced in the harmlessness of the ferment of the public mind, where that mind deliberates, decides, and governs.

To the timid of that day there seemed "a real danger of insurrection." The assemblies were troublesome; the spirit of insubordination grew by indulgence; "squatters" increased so rapidly that their number threatened to become their security. And Maryland was as restless as Pennsylvania. Logan could not shake off distrust. With "a long enjoyment of a free air and almost unrestrained liberty," wrote he, "we must not have the least appearance even of a militia, nor any other officers than sheriffs chosen by the multitude themselves, and a few constables, part of themselves, to enforce the powers of government; to which add a most licentious use of thinking, in relation to those powers, most industriously inculcated and fomented." The result was inexplicable on the old theories of government. "One perplexity had succeeded another,

* Chalmers's Opinions, ii. 118.

as waves follow waves in the sea, while the settlement of Penn had thriven at all times since its beginning."

To free schools and colleges the periodical press had been added, and newspapers began their office in America as the ministers to curiosity and the guides and organs of opinion. Philadelphia received a printer, in whom it was to find a statesman. On the twenty-fourth of April, in 1704, the Boston "News-Letter," the first ever published on the western continent, saw the light in the metropolis of New England. In 1719, it obtained a rival at Boston, and was imitated at Philadelphia. In 1740, the number of newspapers in the English colonies on the continent had increased to eleven, of which one appeared in South Carolina, one in Virginia, three in Pennsylvania—one of them being in German—one in New York, and the remaining five in Boston. The sheet at first used was but of the foolscap size; and but one, or even but a half of one, was issued weekly. The papers sought support rather by modestly telling the news of the day than by engaging in conflicts; they had no political theories to enforce, no revolutions in faith to hasten. At Boston, indeed, where the pulpit had marshalled Quakers and witches to the gallows, the New England "Courant," the fourth American periodical, was, in August 1721, established by James Franklin as an organ of independent opinion. Its temporary success was advanced by Benjamin, his brother and apprentice, a boy of fifteen, who wrote for its columns, worked in composing the types as well as in printing off the sheets, and, as carrier, distributed the papers to the customers. The sheet satirized hypocrisy, and spoke of religious knaves as of all knaves the worst. This was described as tending "to abuse the ministers of religion in a manner which was intolerable." "I can well remember," writes Increase Mather, then more than fourscore years of age, "when the civil government would have taken an effectual course to suppress such a cursed libel." In July 1722, a resolve passed the council, appointing a censor for the press of James Franklin; but the house refused its concurrence. The ministers persevered; and, in January 1723, a committee of inquiry was raised by the legislature. Benjamin, being examined, escaped with an admonition; James, the publisher, refusing to

discover the author of the offence, was kept in jail for a month; his paper was censured as reflecting injuriously on the reverend ministers of the gospel; and, by vote of the house and council, he was forbidden to print it, "except it be first supervised."

Vexed at the arbitrary proceedings, Benjamin Franklin, then but seventeen years old, in October 1723, sailed clandestinely for New York. Finding there no employment, he crossed to Amboy; went on foot to the Delaware; for want of a wind, rowed in a boat from Burlington to Philadelphia; and bearing marks of his labor at the oar, weary, hungry, having for his whole stock of cash a single dollar, the runaway apprentice—the pupil of the free schools of Boston, rich in the boundless hope of youth and the unconscious power of modest genius—stepped on shore to seek food and occupation.

On the deep foundations of sobriety, frugality, and industry, the young journeyman built his fortunes and fame; and he soon came to have a printing-office of his own. Toiling early and late, with his own hands he set types and worked at the press; with his own hands would trundle to the office in a wheelbarrow the reams of paper which he was to use. His ingenuity was such that he could form letters, make types and woodcuts, and engrave vignettes in copper. The assembly of Pennsylvania chose him its printer. He planned a newspaper; and, when he became its proprietor and editor, he defended freedom of thought and speech, and the inalienable power of the people. He proposed improvements in the schools of Philadelphia, invented the system of subscription libraries, and laid the foundation of one that was long the most considerable in America; he suggested the establishment of an academy, which has ripened into a university; and gathered a philosophical society for the advancement of science. The intelligent and highly cultivated Logan bore testimony to his merits: "Our most ingenious printer has the clearest understanding, with extreme modesty. He is certainly an extraordinary man;" "of a singularly good judgment, but of equal modesty;" "excellent, yet humble." "Do not imagine," he adds, "that I overdo in my character of Benjamin Franklin, for I am rather short in it." When the students of nature

began to investigate the wonders of electricity, Franklin excelled all observers in the simplicity and lucid exposition of his experiments, and in "sagacity and power of scientific generalization." It was he who first explained thunder-gusts and the northern lights on electrical principles, and, in the summer of 1752, going out into the fields, with no instrument but a kite, no companion but his son, established his theory by obtaining a line of connection with a thunder-cloud.

The son of a rigid Calvinist, the grandson of a tolerant Quaker, Franklin from boyhood was skeptical of tradition as the basis of faith, and respected reason rather than authority. After a momentary lapse into fatalism, he gained with increasing years an increasing trust in the overruling providence of God. Adhering to none of all the religions in the colonies, he yet devoutly adhered to religion. But though famous as a disputant, and having a natural aptitude for metaphysics, he obeyed the tendency of his age, and sought by observation to win an insight into the mysteries of being. The best observers praise his method most. He so sincerely loved truth that, in his pursuit of her, she met him half-way; so that his mind was like a mirror, in which the universe, as it reflected itself, revealed its laws. His morality, repudiating ascetic severities, was indulgent to appetites of which he abhorred the sway; but in all his career, the love of man held the mastery over personal interest. He had not the imagination which inspires the bard or kindles the orator; but an exquisite propriety, parsimonious of ornament, gave ease, correctness, and graceful simplicity even to his most careless writings. In life, his tastes were delicate. He relished the delights of music and harmony. The benignity of his manners made him the favorite of intelligent society; and, with healthy cheerfulness, he derived pleasure from books, from philosophy, from conversation—now administering consolation to the sorrower, now indulging in light-hearted gayety. In his intercourse, a serene benevolence saved him from contempt of his race or disgust at its toils. To superficial observers, he might have seemed as an alien from speculative truth, limiting himself to the world of the senses; and yet, in study, and among men, his mind always sought to discover and apply the general principles by

which nature and affairs are controlled—now deducing from the theory of caloric improvements in fireplaces and lanterns, and now advancing human freedom by firm inductions from the inalienable rights of man. He never professed enthusiasm, yet his hope was steadfast; and, in the moments of intense activity, he from the abodes of ideal truth brought down and applied to the affairs of life the principles of goodness, as unostentatiously as became the man who with a kite and hempen string had drawn the lightning from the skies. He separated himself so little from his age that he has been called the representative of materialism; and yet, when he thought on religion, his mind passed beyond reliance on sects to faith in God; when he wrote on politics, he founded freedom on principles that know no change; when he turned an observing eye on nature, he passed from the effect to the cause, from individual appearances to universal laws; when he reflected on history, his philosophic mind found gladness and repose in the clear anticipation of the progress of humanity.

Through the press, no one was so active as Benjamin Franklin. His newspaper defended freedom of speech and of the press, for he held that falsehood alone dreads attack and cries out for auxiliaries, while truth scorns the aid of the secular arm and triumphs by her innate strength. He rejected with disdain the "policy of arbitrary government," which can esteem truth itself to be a libel. Nor did he fail to applaud "popular governments, as resting on the wisest reasons." In "the multitude, which hates and fears ambition," he saw the true counterpoise to unjust designs; and he trusted the mass, as unable "to judge amiss on any essential points." "The judgment of a whole people," such was the sentiment of Franklin, "if unbiassed by faction, undeluded by the tricks of designing men, is infallible." That the voice of the people is the voice of God he declared to be universally true; and, therefore, "the people cannot, in any sense, divest themselves of the supreme authority." Thus he asserted the common rights of mankind, by illustrating "eternal truths, that cannot be shaken even with the foundations of the world." So was public opinion guided in Pennsylvania more than a century ago.

The colonies were forming a character of their own.

Throughout the continent, the love of freedom and the sentiment of independence were gaining vigor and maturity. They were not the offspring of deliberate forethought: they grew like the lilies, which neither toil nor spin.

Parliament itself avoided the extreme conflict with all the colonies. The Episcopalians in America, not then aware that the Episcopal church could not have great success in America while a king was its head, continually prayed for "a constitution in church and state as near as possible conformable to that of their mother country." Johnson asked for "bishops and a viceroy." In 1725, the ministers of Massachusetts, by the hand of Cotton Mather, desired a synod, "to recover and establish the faith and order of the gospel." The council assented; the house referred the question to its next session. The bishop of London anticipated its decision; and a reprimand from England forbade "the authoritative" meeting, as a bad precedent for dissenters. With this the interference ended; in the eighteenth century there was little to fear from the excessive zeal of English churchmen. All the time liberal opinion was gaining strength in Massachusetts, and a law of 1729 relieved Quakers and Baptists from parish taxes.

A new country desires credit, submits even to extortion and expedients rather than renounce its use. Where nature invites to the easy and rapid development of its resources, hope sees the opportunity of golden advantages, if a loan can be obtained. The first emission of provincial paper had its origin in the immediate necessities of Massachusetts; next, in times of peace, provinces issued bills of credit, redeemable at a remote day, and put in circulation by means of loans to citizens at a low rate of interest on the mortgage of lands. The bills, in themselves almost worthless from the remoteness of the day of payment, were made a lawful tender. The borrower, who received them, paid to the state annual interest on his debt; and this interest constituted a public revenue, obtained, it was boasted, without taxation. In 1712, South Carolina issued on interest new bills for fifty-two thousand pounds. Massachusetts, which for twenty years had used bills of credit for public purposes, in 1714 authorized an emission of fifty thousand pounds in bills, to be put into the hands of five trustees,

and let out at five per cent on safe mortgages of real estate, to be paid back in five annual instalments. The debts were not thus paid back; but an increased clamor was raised for greater emissions. In 1716, an additional issue of one hundred thousand pounds was made, and committed to the care of county trustees. The scarcity of money was ever more and more complained of: "all the silver money was sent into Great Britain to make returns for what was owing there." Paper money was multiplied so lavishly that, in 1720, an instruction, afterward modified, but never abrogated, was issued to every governor in America, to consent to no act for emitting bills of credit, except for the support of government, without a suspending clause till the king's pleasure should be known. The instruction was disregarded, and the system was imitated in every colony but Virginia. Rhode Island, in 1721, "issued a bank of forty thousand pounds," on which the interest was payable in hemp or flax. Franklin, who afterward perceived the evil of paper money, assisted, in 1723, in introducing it into Pennsylvania, where silver had circulated; and the complaint was soon heard that, "as their money was paper, they had very little gold and silver, and, when any came in, it was accounted as merchandise."

In 1738, the New England currency was worth but one hundred for five hundred; that of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, one hundred for one hundred and sixty or seventy, or two hundred; of South Carolina, one for eight; while of North Carolina, of all the states the least commercial in its character, the paper was in London esteemed worth but one for fourteen, in the colony but one for ten. Yet parliament was not invited to interfere till Massachusetts established a land bank. Then the house of commons condemned the mischievous practice, and addressed the king in support of the royal instructions. Still the frenzy for paper money defied the royal commands; and the private land bank began to issue paper that it never could redeem. Parliament interfered, in 1741, "to restrain undertakings in the colonies," by enacting that the statute of 1719, which was passed after the ruin of the South Sea company, and which made every member of a joint-stock company personally liable for its debts,

was, and had from the first, been in force in the colonies. Every principle of public policy required a check to the issues of paper money; but nothing could have been more arbitrary than to enact that a statute, which had no reference whatever to Massachusetts, and which was passed many years before, had all the while been valid in that colony.

The home government approved of the establishment of the fort of Oswego, and made a specific call on nine states for men; on Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia for money, toward supporting fortifications at Albany, Schenectady, and Oswego. Sir William Keith, formerly surveyor of the customs for the southern department, governor of Pennsylvania for nine years, a fiery patriot, boisterous for liberty and property, by which he had meant more paper money, was used as the organ in London for suggesting a new plan of colonial administration. None of the plantations, he said, could "claim an absolute legislative power within themselves; none could evade the true force of any act of parliament affecting them." To give unity and vigor to the colonial government, he repeated the advice of the board of trade to make its first lord a secretary of state; and submitted to the king the inquiry, "whether the duties of stamps upon parchment and paper in England may not, with good reason, be extended by act of parliament to all the American plantations." The suggestion, which probably was not original with Keith, met at the time with no favor. In 1745, two clauses were added to a bill before parliament which had the scope of compelling the legislators to obey all the orders and instructions of the crown; but the bill was not carried through parliament.

In 1740, parliament enacted that foreign Protestants, wherever they might be born, after a residence of seven years in any of the colonies, with no absence for more than two months at any one time during that period, and after subscribing the prescribed oaths, "shall be deemed, adjudged, and taken to be natural-born subjects of the kingdom."

This period was marked by the unrivalled prosperity of the colonies. The population, which had doubled within twenty-five years, grew rich through industry. Boston continued its great manufacture of ships, and found a market for them

among the French and Spaniards in San Domingo; so that, for example in 1738, there were built in that town forty-one top-sail vessels. Peace on the eastern frontier revived the youthful maritime enterprise of Maine. Of Connecticut, the swarming population spread over its soil, and occupied even its hills; for its whole extent was protected against the inroads of savages. The selfishness of the governors of New York and their royalist party could delay, but not prevent, its increase. Pennsylvania, the land of promise, grew in wealth from agriculture, from commerce, from ship-building, and mines and manufactures of iron. The beautiful valley of Virginia attracted white inhabitants.

West of the Alleghanies there were no European settlements, except that traders, especially from Carolina, had ventured among the Indians, and, becoming wild like the men with whom they trafficked, had established their houses among the Cherokees, the Muskohgees, and the Chicasaws. On the eastern side of the mountains, the peopling of the remote upland interior began in South Carolina with herdsmen, who pastured beeves upon natural grasses, and now and then rallied their cattle at central "Cowpens." A British poet directed the admiration of his countrymen to the new English world:

> Lo! swarming southward on rejoicing suns,
> Gay colonies extend—the calm retreat
> Of undeserved distress, the better home
> Of those whom bigots chase from foreign lands.
> Not built on rapine, servitude, and woe,
> But bound by social freedom, firm they rise.

The progress of colonization was mainly due to the rapid increase of the early settlers. But the wars on the continent hurried emigrants in masses to Pennsylvania. "We shall soon have a German colony," wrote Logan, in 1726, "so many thousands of Palatines are already in the country." The restriction on commerce and industry drove multitudes into exile. "The whole North," so the duke of Newcastle, in November 1728, was informed by letters from Boulter the primate of Ireland, "is in a ferment at present, and people every day engaging one another to go the next year to the West Indies"—that is, to the British continental colonies in America. "The

humor has spread like a contagious distemper, and the people will hardly hear anybody that tries to cure them of their madness. The worst is, that it affects only Protestants, and reigns chiefly in the North."

In the following year Logan writes: "We are very much surprised at the vast crowds of people pouring in upon us from the north of Ireland." Scotch emigrants who went directly from Scotland brought with them loyalty toward the mother country and monarchy. The Scotch-Irish Protestants, disciplined by disfranchisements in civil life, home industry, and trade, found a welcome from Maine to Georgia, and were ever among the foremost of those who in peace and in war struggled for right and freedom. The emigration of Irish Catholics was already begun; but from the continued intolerance of legislation in many colonies, it was as yet chiefly directed to Maryland and the two provinces founded by Penn.

The greatest of the sons of Ireland who came to us in those days was George Berkeley, and he, like Penn, reposed hopes for humanity on America. Versed in ancient learning, exact science, and modern literature, disciplined by travel and reflection, adverse factions agreed in ascribing to him "every virtue under heaven." Cherished by those who were the pride of English letters and society, favored with unsolicited dignities and revenues, he required for his happiness, not fortune or preferment, but a real progress in knowledge. The material tendencies of the age in which he lived were hateful to his purity of sentiment; and having a mind kindred with Plato and the Alexandrine philosophers, with Barclay and Malebranche, he held that the external world was wholly subordinate to intelligence; that true existence can be predicated of spirits alone. He did not distrust the senses, being rather a close and exact observer of their powers, and finely discriminating between impressions made on them and the deductions of reason from those impressions. Far from being skeptical, he sought to give to faith the highest certainty by deriving all knowledge from absolutely perfect intelligence, from God. If he could but "expel matter out of nature," if he could establish the supremacy of spirit as the sole creative power and active being, then would the slavish and corrupt theories of Epi-

curus and of Hobbes be cut up by the roots. Thus he sought "gently to unbind the ligaments which chain the soul to the earth, and to assist her flight upward toward the sovereign good." For the application of such views, Europe of the eighteenth century offered no theatre. Regarding "the well-being of all men of all nations" as the design in which the actions of each individual should concur, he repaired to the new hemisphere to found a university. The island of Bermuda, at first selected as its site, was abandoned for Newport within our America, of which, from January 1729 to midsummer 1731, he was a resident. But opinion in England did not favor his purpose. "From the labor and luxury of the plantations," English politicians said, "great advantages may ensue to the mother country; yet the advancement of literature, and the improvement in arts and sciences in our American colonies, can never be of any service to the British state." The funds that had been regarded as pledged to the university, in which Indians were to be trained in wisdom, missionaries educated for works of good, science and truth advanced and disseminated, were diverted to pay the dowry of the princess royal. Disappointed, yet not irritated, Berkeley returned to Europe, to endow a library in Rhode Island; to cherish the interests of Harvard college; to gain a right to be gratefully remembered in Yale college; to encourage the foundation of a college at New York. Advanced to a bishopric, the heart of the liberal prelate still beat for America, of which his benevolence had dictated this prophecy:

In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
  Where nature guides, and virtue rules,
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
  The pedantry of courts and schools—
There shall be sung another golden age—
  The rise of empire and of arts;
The good and great inspiring epic rage;
  The wisest heads and noblest hearts.
Westward the course of empire takes its way;
  The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
  Time's noblest offspring is the last.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE BRITISH SLAVE-TRADE. COLONIZATION OF GEORGIA.

THE moral world is swayed by general laws. They extend not over inanimate nature only, but over man and nations; over the policy of rulers and the opinion of masses. Event succeeds event according to their influence; amid the jar of passions and interests, amid wars and alliances, commerce and conflicts, they form the guides of civilization, which marshals incongruous incidents into their just places, and arranges checkered groups in clear and harmonious order. To discover the tendency of the ages, research must be unwearied, and must be conducted without a bias; as the student of natural history, in examining even the humblest flower, seeks instruments that may unfold its wonderful structure, without color and without distortion. For the historic inquirer to swerve from exact observation would be as absurd as for the astronomer to break his telescopes and compute the path of a planet by conjecture. Of success there is a sure criterion; for, as every false statement contains a contradiction, truth alone possesses harmony. Truth, and truth alone, is permanent. The selfish passions of a party are as evanescent as the material interests involved in the transient conflict: they may deserve to be described; they never can inspire; and the narrative which takes from them its motive will hurry to oblivion as rapidly as the hearts in which they were kindled moulder to ashes. But facts, faithfully ascertained and placed in proper contiguity, become of themselves the firm links of a brightly burnished chain, connecting events with their causes, and marking the line along which the power of truth is conveyed from generation to generation.

Events that are past are beyond change, and, where they merit to be known, can at least in their general aspect be known correctly. The constitution of the human mind varies only in details; its elements are the same always; and the multitude, possessing but a combination of the powers and passions of which each one is conscious, is subject to the same laws which control individuals. Humanity, constantly enriched and cultivated by the truths it develops and the inventions it amasses, has a life of its own, and yet possesses no element that is not common to each of its members. By comparison of document with document; by an analysis of facts, and the reference of each of them to the laws of intelligence which it illustrates; by separating the idea which inspires combined action from the forms it assumes; by comparing results with the principles that govern the movement of nations—historic truth may establish itself as a science.

The trust of our race that there is progress in human affairs is warranted. Universal history does but seek to relate "the sum of all God's works of providence." In 1739, the first conception of its office, in the mind of Jonathan Edwards, though still cramped and perverted by theological forms not derived from observation, was nobler than the theory of Vico: more grand and general than the method of Bossuet, it embraced in its outline the whole "work of redemption"—the history of the influence of all moral truth in the gradual regeneration of humanity. The New England divine, in his quiet association with the innocence and simplicity of rural life, knew that, in every succession of revolutions, the cause of civilization and moral reform is advanced. "The new creation," such are his words, "is more excellent than the old. So it ever is, that, when one thing is removed by God to make way for another, the new excels the old." "The wheels of Providence," he adds, "are not turned by blind chance, but they are full of eyes round about, and they are guided by the Spirit of God. Where the Spirit goes, they go." Nothing appears more self-determined than the volitions of each individual; and nothing is more certain than that Providence will overrule them for good. The finite will of man, free in its individuality, is in the aggregate subordinate to general

laws. This is the reason why evil is self-destructive; why truth, when it is once generated, is sure to live forever; why freedom and justice, though resisted and restrained, renew the contest from age to age, confident that messengers from heaven fight on their side, and that the stars in their courses war against their foes. There would seem to be no harmony and no consistent tendency to one great end in the confused events of the reigns of George II. of England and Louis XV. of France, where legislation was now surrendered to the mercantile passion for gain, was now swayed by the ambition and avarice of the mistresses of kings; where the venal corruption of public men, the open profligacy of courts, the greedy cupidity of trade, conspired in exercising dominion over the civilized community. The political world was without form and void; yet the Spirit of God was moving over the chaos of human passions and human caprices, bringing forth the firm foundations on which better hopes were to rest, and setting in the firmament the lights that were to guide the nations.

England, France, and Spain occupied all the continent, nearly all the islands, of North America; each established over its colonies an oppressive metropolitan monopoly; but Great Britain, while she vigorously enforced her own acts of navigation, disregarded those of Spain. Strictly maintaining the exclusive commerce with her own colonies, she coveted intercourse with the Spanish islands and main; and was about to give to the world, for the first time in history, the spectacle of a war for trade—a war which hastened the downfall of commercial restrictions and the independence of America.

A part of the holders of the debt of Great Britain had been incorporated into a company, with the exclusive trade to the South Seas. But as Spain occupied much of the American coast in those seas, and claimed a monopoly of its commerce, the grant was worthless, unless that monopoly could be successfully invaded; and to begin this invasion, the commercial advantages conceded by the assiento treaty were assigned to the South Sea company.

Notwithstanding the ill success of its attempts to trade in the Pacific, enough of the South Sea company survived to execute the contract for negroes and to conduct an illicit commerce

with Spanish America. "Ambition, avarice, distress, disappointment, and the complicated vices that tend to render the mind of man uneasy, filled all places and all hearts in the English nation." Dreams of the acquisition of Florida, with the sole use of the Bahama channel; of the conquest of Mexico and Peru, with their real and their imagined wealth—rose up to dazzle the restless; Jamaica became the centre of an extensive smuggling trade; and slave-ships, deriving their passport from the assiento treaty, were the ready instruments of contraband cupidity.

While the South Sea company satisfied but imperfectly its passion for wealth by a monopoly of the supply of negroes for the Spanish islands and main, the African company and independent traders were still more busy in sending negroes to the colonies of England. This avidity was encouraged by English legislation, fostered by royal favor, and enforced for a century by every successive ministry of England.

The colored men who were imported into our colonies, sometimes by way of the West Indies, and sometimes, especially for the South, directly from the Old World, were sought all along the African coast, for thirty degrees together, from Cape Blanco to Loango St. Paul's; from the Great Desert of Sahara to the kingdom of Angola, or perhaps even to the borders of the land of the Kaffres. It is not possible to relate precisely in what bay they were respectively laden, from what sunny cottages they were kidnapped, from what more direful captivity they were rescued. The traders in men have not been careful to record the lineage of their victims. They were chiefly gathered from gangs that were marched from the far interior; so that the freight of a single ship might be composed of persons of different languages, and of nations altogether strange to each other. Nor was there uniformity of complexion; of those brought to our country, some were from tribes of which the skin was of a tawny yellow.

The purchases in Africa were made, in part, of convicts sentenced to slavery, or to a fine which was discharged by their sale; of debtors sold, though but rarely, into foreign bondage; of children sold by their parents; of kidnapped villagers; of captives taken in war. Hence, the sea-coast and the confines of

hostile nations were laid waste. But the chief source of supply alike for the caravans of the Moors and for the ships of Europe was from the swarms of those born in a state of slavery. In the upper country, on the Senegal and the Gambia, three fourths of the inhabitants were not free; and the slave's master was the absolute lord of the slave's children. In the healthy and fertile uplands of Western Africa, under the tropical sun, the natural increase of the prolific race, combined with the imperfect development of its moral faculties, gave to human life, in the eye of man himself, an inferior value. Humanity did not respect itself in the individual, in the family, or in the nation. Our systems of ethics will not explain the phenomenon: its cause is not to be sought in the suppression of moral feeling, but rather in the condition of a branch of the human family not yet fully possessed of its moral and rational life. The quick maturity, the facility of obtaining sustenance, an undeveloped intelligence, and the fruitfulness of the negro, explain why, from century to century, the slave-ships could find a freight, and yet the population of the interior be kept full.

Africans of more than thirty years of age were rejected by the traders as too old, and few were received under fourteen. Of the whole number, not more than one third part was composed of women; and a woman past two-and-twenty was hardly deemed worth transportation. The English slave-ships were laden with the youth of Africa.

Slavery and even a change of masters were familiar to the African; but to be conducted to the shores of the Western Ocean, to be doomed to pass its boundless deep and enter on new toils in an untried clime and amid an unknown race, was appalling to the black man. The horrors of the passage corresponded with the infamy of the trade. Small vessels, of little more than two hundred tons' burden, were prepared for the traffic; for these could most easily penetrate the bays and rivers, and, quickly obtaining a lading, could soonest hurry away from the deadly air of the African coast. In such a bark five hundred negroes and more have been stowed, exciting wonder that men could have lived, within the tropics, cribbed in so few inches of room. The inequality of force between the crew and the cargo led to the use of manacles;

the hands of the stronger men were made fast together, and the right leg of one was chained to the left of another. The avarice of the trader was a partial guarantee of the security of life, as far as it depended on him; but death hovered always over the slave-ship. The negroes, as they came from the higher level to the sea-side, poorly fed on the sad pilgrimage, sleeping at night on the damp earth without covering, and often reaching the coast at unfavorable seasons, imbibed the seeds of disease, which confinement on board ship quickened into feverish activity. There have been examples where one half of them—it has been said, even, where two thirds of them—perished on the passage. The total loss of life on the voyage is computed to have been, on the average, fifteen, certainly full twelve and a half, in the hundred; the harbors of the West Indies proved fatal to four and a half more out of every hundred. No scene of wretchedness could surpass a crowded slave-ship during a storm at sea, unless it were that same ship dismasted, or suffering from a protracted voyage and want of food, its miserable inmates tossed helplessly to and fro under the rays of a vertical sun, vainly gasping for a drop of water.

Of a direct voyage from Guinea to the coast of the United States no journal is known to exist, though slave-ships from Africa entered Newport and nearly every considerable harbor south of it.

In the northern provinces of English America, the negroes were lost in the larger number of whites; and only in the lowlands of South Carolina and Virginia did they constitute a great majority of the inhabitants. When they met on our soil they were as strange to one another as to their masters. Taken from places in Africa a thousand miles asunder, the negro emigrants to America brought with them no common language or worship. They were compelled to adopt a new dialect for intercourse with each other; and broken English became their tongue not less among themselves than with their masters. Hence there was no unity among them, and no immediate political danger from their joint action. Once an excitement against them raged in New York, through fear of a pretended plot; but the frenzy grew out of a delusion. Sometimes the extreme harshness of taskmasters may have provoked

resistance; or sometimes an African, accustomed from birth to freedom, and reduced to slavery by the chances of war, carried with him across the Atlantic the indomitable spirit of a warrior; but the instances of insurrection were insulated, and without result. Destitute of common traditions, customs, and laws, the black population existed in fragments, having no bonds of union but color and misfortune. Thus, the negro slave in America was dependent on his owner for civilization; he could be initiated into skill in the arts only through him; through him only could he gain a country; and, as a consequence, in the next generation, though dissatisfied with his condition, he had yet learned to love the land of his master as his own.

It is not easy to conjecture how many negroes were imported into the English continental colonies. The usual estimates far exceed the truth. Climate came in aid of opinion to oppose their introduction. Owing to the inequality of the sexes, their natural increase was not rapid in the first generation. Previous to the year 1740, there may have been brought into our country nearly one hundred and thirty thousand; before 1776, a few more than three hundred thousand. From the best accounts that have been preserved, there may have been in the United States, in 1714, nearly fifty-nine thousand negroes; in 1727, seventy-eight thousand; in 1754, nearly two hundred and ninety-three thousand; but these numbers are not entitled to be regarded as absolutely accurate.

In the northern and the middle states, the negro was employed for menial offices and in the culture of wheat and maize. In the South, almost all the tobacco exported from Maryland and Virginia, all the indigo and rice of Carolina, were the fruit of his toils. Instead of remaining in a wild and unproductive servitude, his labor contributed to the wealth of nations; his destiny, from its influence on commerce, excited interest throughout the civilized world.

With new powers of production, the negro learned new wants, which were at least partially supplied. At the North, he dwelt under the roof of his master; his physical well-being was provided for, and opinion protected him against cruelty. At the South, his home was a rude cabin of his own, con-

structed of logs or slabs. The early writers tell us little of his history, except the crops which he raised.

His physical constitution decided his home in the New World; he loved the sun; even the climate of Virginia was too chill for him. His labor, therefore, increased in value as he proceeded south; and hence the relation of master and slave came to be essentially a southern institution.

The testimony of concurrent tradition represents the negroes, at their arrival, to have been gross and stupid, having memory and physical strength, but undisciplined in the exercise of reason. At the end of a generation, all observers affirmed the marked progress of the black American. In the midst of the horrors of slavery and the slave-trade, the masters had, in part at least, civilized the negro.

The thought of emancipation soon presented itself. In 1701, Boston instructed its representatives "to encourage the bringing of white servants, and to put a period to negroes being slaves." In 1712, to a petition for the "enlargement" of negro slaves by law, the legislature of Pennsylvania answered that "it was neither just nor convenient to set them at liberty;" and yet George Keith, the early abolitionist, was followed by the eccentric Benjamin Lay; by Ralph Sandiford, who held slavery to be inconsistent alike with the rights of man and the principles of Christianity; and, at a later day, by the amiable enthusiast, Anthony Benezet.

But did not Christianity enfranchise its converts? The Christian world of that day almost universally revered in Christ the impersonation of the divine wisdom. Could an intelligent being, who, through the Mediator, had participated in the Spirit of God, and by his own inward experience had become conscious of a Supreme Being, and of relations between that Being and humanity, be rightfully held in bondage? From New England to Carolina, the "notion" prevailed that "being baptized is inconsistent with a state of slavery;" and this early apprehension proved an obstacle to the "conversion of these poor people." The sentiment was so deep and so general that South Carolina in 1712, Maryland in 1715, Virginia repeatedly from 1667 to 1748, set forth by special enactments that baptism did not confer freedom. The lawyers declared

the fear groundless; and "the opinion of his majesty's attorney and solicitor general, Yorke and Talbot, signed with their own hands, was accordingly printed in Rhode Island, and dispersed through the plantations." "I heartily wish," adds Berkeley, "it may produce the intended effect;" and at the same time he rebuked "the irrational contempt of the blacks, as creatures of another species, having no right to be instructed." In like manner, Gibson, the bishop of London, asserted that "Christianity and the embracing of the gospel did not make the least alteration in civil property;" while he besought the masters to regard the negroes "not barely as slaves, but as men-slaves and women-slaves, having the same frame and faculties with themselves."

There is not, in all the colonial legislation of America, one law which recognises the rightfulness of slavery in the abstract. Every province favored freedom as such. The real question at issue was, from the first, not one of slavery and freedom generally, but of the relations to each other of the Ethiopian and American races. The Englishman in America tolerated and enforced not the slavery of man, but the slavery of the man who was "guilty of a skin not colored like his own." In the skin lay the unexpiated, and, as it was held, inexpiable, guilt. To the negro, whom the benevolence of his master enfranchised, the path to social equality was not open.

The question of tolerating the slave-trade and the question of abolishing slavery rested on different grounds. The one related to a refusal of a trust; the other, to the manner of its exercise. The English continental colonies, in the aggregate, were always opposed to the African slave-trade. Maryland, Virginia, even Carolina, alarmed at the excessive production and the consequent low price of their staples, at the heavy debts incurred by the purchase of slaves on credit, and at the dangerous increase of the colored population, each showed an anxious preference for the introduction of white men; and laws designed to restrict importations of slaves are scattered copiously along the records of colonial legislation. On the sixth of April 1776, the first continental congress which took to itself powers of legislation gave a legal expression to the well-formed opinion of the country by resolving "that no slaves be imported into any of the thirteen united colonies."

Before America legislated for herself, the interdict of the slave-trade was impossible. England was inexorable in maintaining the system, which gained new and stronger supporters by its excess. The English slave-trade began to attain its great activity after the assiento treaty. From 1680 to 1700, the English took from Africa about three hundred thousand negroes, or about fifteen thousand a year. The number during the continuance of the assiento may have averaged annually not far from thirty thousand. Raynal considers the number of negroes exported by all European nations from Africa before 1776 to have been nine millions; and historians of the slave-trade have deemed his statement too small. A careful analysis of the colored population in America at different periods, and the inferences to be deduced from the few authentic records of the numbers imported, corrected by a comparison with the commercial products of slave labor as appearing in the annals of English commerce, seem to prove, beyond a doubt, that even the estimate of Raynal is larger than the reality. We shall not err very much if, for the century previous to the prohibition of the slave-trade by the American congress, in 1776, we assume the number imported by the English into the Spanish, French, and English West Indies, and the English continental colonies, to have been, collectively, nearly three millions: to which are to be added more than a quarter of a million purchased in Africa, and thrown into the Atlantic on the passage. The gross returns to English merchants, for the traffic in that number of slaves, may have been not far from four hundred millions of dollars. Yet, as at least one half of the negroes exported from Africa to America were carried in English ships, it should be observed that this estimate is by far the lowest ever made by any inquirer into the statistics of human wickedness. After every deduction, the trade retains its gigantic character of crime.

In an age when the interests of commerce guided legislation, this branch of commerce possessed paramount attractions. Not a statesman exposed its enormities; and, if Richard Baxter reminded the slave-holder that the slave "was of as good a kind as himself, born to as much liberty, by nature his equal, a servant and a brother, by right born his own;" if Addison, as

a man of letters, held it without excuse, that "this part of our species was not put upon the common foot of humanity;" if Southern drew tears by the tragic tale of "Oronooko;" if Steele awakened a throb of indignation by the story of "Inkle and Yarico;" if Savage and Shenstone pointed their feeble couplets with the wrongs of "Afric's sable children;" if the Irish metaphysician Hutcheson, who proposed to rulers for their object "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," justly stigmatized the traffic—yet in England no general indignation rebuked the enormity. The philosophy of that day furnished to the African no protection against oppression; and the interpretation of English common law was equally regardless of human freedom. The colonial negro, who sailed to the metropolis, found no benefit from touching the soil of England, but returned a slave. Such was the approved law of England in the first half of the last century; such was the opinion of Yorke and Talbot, the law officers of the crown, as expressed in 1729, and, after a lapse of twenty years, repeated and confirmed by Yorke as chancellor of England.

The influence of the manufacturers was still worse. They clamored for the protection of a trade which opened to them an African market. A resolve of the commons, in the days of William and Mary, proposed to lay open the trade in negroes "for the better supply of the plantations;" and, in 1695, the statute-book of England declared the opinion of its king and its parliament, that "the trade is highly beneficial and advantageous to the kingdom and the colonies." In 1708, a committee of the house of commons report that "the trade is important, and ought to be free;" in 1711, a committee once more report that "the plantations ought to be supplied with negroes at reasonable rates," and urge an increase of importations. In June 1712, Queen Anne, in her speech to parliament, boasts of her success in securing to Englishmen a new market for slaves in Spanish America. In 1729, George II. recommended a provision, at the national expense, for the African forts; and the recommendation was followed. At last, in 1749, to give the highest activity to the traffic, every obstruction to private enterprise was removed, and the ports of

Africa were laid open to English competition; for "the slave-trade," such are the words of the statute, "is very advantageous to Great Britain." "The British senate," wrote one of its members, in February 1750, "have this fortnight been pondering methods to make more effectual that horrid traffic of selling negroes. It has appeared to us that six-and-forty thousand of these wretches are sold every year to our plantations alone."

But, while the partial monopoly of the African company was broken down, and the commerce in men was opened to the competition of all Englishmen, the monopoly of British subjects was rigidly enforced against foreigners. That Englishmen alone might monopolize all wealth to be derived from the trade, Holt and Pollexfen, and eight other judges, in pursuance of an order in council, had given their opinion "that negroes are merchandise," and that, therefore, the act of navigation was to be extended to English slave-ships to the exclusion of aliens.

The same policy was manifested in the relations between the English crown and the colonies. Land from the public domain was given to emigrants, in one West India colony at least, on condition that the resident owner would "keep four negroes for every hundred acres." The eighteenth century was ushered in by the royal instruction of Queen Anne, in 1702, to the governor of New York and New Jersey, "to give due encouragement to merchants, and in particular to the royal African company of England." That the instruction was general is evident from the apology of Spotswood for the small number of slaves brought into Virginia. In that commonwealth, the planters beheld with dismay the increase of negroes. A tax repressed their importation; and, in May 1726, Hugh Drysdale, the deputy governor, announced to the house that "the interfering interest of the African company had obtained the repeal of that law." Long afterward, a statesman of Virginia, in full view of the course of colonial legislation and English counteracting authority, unbiassed by hostility to England, bore true testimony that "the British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to this infernal traffic." On whatever ground Virginia opposed the trade, the censure was just. South Carolina, in 1760, from prudential

motives, attempted restrictions, and gained only a rebuke from the English ministry. Great Britain, steadily rejecting every colonial limitation of the slave-trade, instructed the governors, on pain of removal, not to give even a temporary assent to such laws; and, but a year before the prohibition of the slave-trade by the American congress, in 1776, the earl of Dartmouth addressed to a colonial agent these memorable words: "We cannot allow the colonies to check, or discourage in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation."

The assiento treaty, originally extorted by force of arms, remained a source of jealousy between Spain and England. On the American frontier Spain claimed to extend her jurisdiction north of the Savannah river, as far at least as St. Helena sound. The foundation of St. Augustine had preceded that of Charleston by a century; national pride still clung to the traditions of the wide extent of Florida; the settlement of the Scottish emigrants at Port Royal had been dispersed; and it was feebleness alone which tolerated the advancement of the plantations of South Carolina toward the Savannah. Meantime, England resolved to pass that stream.

The resolution was not hastily adopted. In 1717, a proposal was brought forward to plant a new colony south of Carolina, in the region that was heralded as the most delightful country of the universe. The land was to be tilled by British and Irish laborers exclusively, without "the dangerous help of blackamoors." Three years afterward, in the excited season of English stock-jobbing and English anticipations, the suggestion was revived. When Carolina, in 1728, became by purchase a royal province, Johnson, its governor, was directed to mark out townships as far south as the Alatamaha; and, in 1731, a site was chosen for a colony of Swiss in the ancient land of the Yamassees, but on the left bank of the Savannah. The country between the two rivers was still a wilderness, when the spirit of benevolence, heedless of the objection that "the colonies would grow too great" for England "and throw off their dependency," resolved to plant the sunny clime with those who in England had neither land nor shelter, and those on the continent to whom, as Protestants, bigotry denied freedom of worship and a home.

In the days when protection of property was avowed to be the end of government, the gallows was set up as the penalty for a petty theft. Each year, in Great Britain, at least four thousand unhappy men were immured in prison for the misfortune of poverty; a small debt exposed to a perpetuity of imprisonment; one indiscreet contract doomed the miserable dupe to lifelong confinement. The subject won the attention of James Oglethorpe, a member of the British parliament; in middle life; educated at Oxford; receiving his first commission in the English army during the ascendency of Bolingbroke; a volunteer in the family of Prince Eugene; present at the siege of Belgrade. To him, in the annals of legislative philanthropy, the honor is due of having first resolved to lighten the lot of debtors. Touched with the sorrows which the walls of a prison could not hide from him, he searched into the gloomy horrors of jails,

Where sickness pines, where thirst and hunger burn,
And poor misfortune feels the lash of vice.

In 1728, he invoked the interference of the English parliament; and, as a commissioner for inquiring into the state of the jails in the kingdom, persevered, till, "from extreme misery, he restored to light and freedom multitudes who, by long confinement for debt, were strangers and helpless in the country of their birth." He did more. For them, and for persecuted Protestants, he planned a new destiny in America.

To further this end, a charter from George II., dated the ninth day of June 1732, erected the country between the Savannah and the Alatamaha, and from the head-springs of those rivers due west to the Pacific, into the province of Georgia, and placed it for twenty-one years under the guardianship of a corporation, "in trust for the poor." The common seal of the corporation, having on one side a group of silk-worms at their toils, with the motto, "Non sibi, sed aliis"—"Not for themselves, but for others"—expressed the purpose of the patrons, who by their own request were restrained from receiving any grant of lands, or any emolument whatever. On the other side of the seal, the device represented two figures reposing on urns, emblematic of the boundary rivers, having between them the genius of "Georgia Augusta," with a cap of liberty

on her head, a spear in one hand, the horn of plenty in the other. But the cap of liberty was, for a time at least, a false emblem; for all executive and legislative power, and the institution of courts, were for twenty-one years given exclusively to the trustees, or their common council, who were appointed during good behavior. The trustees held these grants to contain but "proper powers for establishing and governing the colony." The land, open to Jews, was closed against "papists." At the head of the council stood Shaftesbury, fourth earl of that name; but its most celebrated member was Oglethorpe. So illustrious were the auspices of the design, that hope painted visions of an Eden that was to spring up to reward such disinterested benevolence. The kindly sun of the new colony was to look down on purple vintages, and the silk-worm yield its thread to British looms. Individual zeal was kindled in its favor; the Society for Propagating the Gospel in foreign parts sought to promote it; and parliament showed its good-will by contributing ten thousand pounds.

But, while others gave to the design their leisure, their prayers, or their wealth, Oglethorpe devoted himself to its fulfilment. In November 1732, he embarked with about one hundred and twenty emigrants for America, and in fifty-seven days arrived off the bar of Charleston. Accepting a short welcome, he sailed directly for Port Royal. While the colony was landing at Beaufort, its patron ascended the boundary river of Georgia, and, before the end of January 1733, chose for the site of his chief town the high bluff on which Savannah now stands. At the distance of a half mile dwelt the Yamacraws, a branch of the Muskohgees, who, with Tomochichi, their chieftain, sought security by an alliance with the English. "Here is a little present," said the red man, as he offered a buffalo skin, painted on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle. "The feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify love; the buffalo skin is warm, and is the emblem of protection. Therefore love and protect our little families." On the twelfth of February, new style, the colonists arrived at the place intended for the town, and before evening encamped on shore near the edge of the river. Four beautiful pines protected the tent of Oglethorpe, who for near a twelve

month sought no other shelter. The streets of Savannah were laid out with the greatest regularity; in each quarter, a public square was reserved; the houses were planned and constructed on one model, each a frame of sawed timber, twenty-four feet by sixteen, floored with rough deals, the sides with feather-edged boards unplaned, and the roof shingled. Such a house Oglethorpe afterward hired as his residence, when in Savannah. Ere long a walk, cut through the native woods, led to the large garden on the river-side, destined as a nursery of European fruit and of the products of America. The humane reformer of prison discipline was the father of the commonwealth of Georgia, "the place of refuge for the distressed people of Britain and the persecuted Protestants of Europe."

In May, the chief men of the eight towns of the lower Muskohgees, accepting his invitation, came down to make an alliance. Long King, the tall and aged civil chief of the Oconas, spoke for them all: "The Great Spirit, who dwells everywhere around, and gives breath to all men, sends the English to instruct us." Claiming the country south of the Savannah, he bade the strangers welcome to the lands which his nation did not use; and, in token of sincerity, he laid eight bundles of buckskins at Oglethorpe's feet. "Tomo-chichi," he added, "though banished from his nation, has yet been a great warrior; and, for his wisdom and courage, the exiles chose him their king." Tomo-chichi entered timorously, and, bowing very low, gave thanks that he was still permitted "to look for good land among the tombs of his ancestors." The chief of Coweta stood up and said: "We are come twenty-five days' journey to see you. I was never willing to go down to Charleston, lest I should die on the way; but when I heard you were come, and that you are good men, I came down, that I might hear good things." He then gave leave to the exiles to summon the kindred that loved them out of each of the Creek towns, that they might dwell together. "Recall," he added, "the Yamassees, that they may see the graves of their ancestors before they die, and may be buried in peace among them." On the first of June, a treaty of peace was signed, by which the English claimed sovereignty over the

land of the Creeks as far south as the St. John's; and the chieftains departed laden with presents.

A Cherokee appeared among the English. "Fear nothing," said Oglethorpe, "but speak freely;" and the mountaineer answered: "I always speak freely. Why should I fear? I am now among friends; I never feared even among my enemies." And friendly relations were cherished with the Cherokees. In July of the following year, Red Shoes, a Choctaw chief, proposed commerce. "We came a great way," said he, "and we are a great nation. The French are building forts about us, against our liking. We have long traded with them, but they are poor in goods; we desire that a trade may be opened between us and you." The good faith of Oglethorpe in the offers of peace, his noble mien and sweetness of temper, conciliated the confidence of the red men; in his turn, he was pleased with their simplicity, and sought for means to clear the glimmering ray of their minds, to guide their bewildered reason, and teach them to know the God whom they ignorantly adored.

The province of South Carolina displayed "a universal zeal for assisting its new ally and bulwark" on the south.

When the Roman Catholic archbishop, who was the ruler of Salzburg, with merciless bigotry drove out of his dominions the Lutherans whom horrid tortures and relentless persecution could not force to renounce their Protestant faith, Frederic William I. of Prussia planted a part of them on freeholds in his kingdom; others, on the invitation of the Society in England for Propagating the Gospel, prepared to emigrate to the Savannah. A free passage; provisions in Georgia for a whole season; land for themselves and their children, free for ten years, then to be held for a small quit-rent; the privileges of native Englishmen; freedom of worship—these were the promises made, accepted, and honorably fulfilled. On the last day of October 1733, "the evangelical community," well supplied with Bibles and hymn-books, catechisms and books of devotion, conveying in one wagon their few chattels, in two other covered ones their feebler companions, and especially their little ones—after a discourse and prayer and benedictions, cheerfully, and in the name of God, began their pilgrimage.

History need not stop to tell what charities cheered them on their journey, what towns were closed against them by Roman Catholic magistrates, or how they entered Frankfort on the Main, two by two in solemn procession, singing spiritual songs. As they floated down the Main, and between the castled crags, the vineyards, and the white-walled towns that adorn the banks of the Rhine, their conversation, amid hymns and prayers, was of justification and of sanctification, and of standing fast in the Lord. At Rotterdam, they were joined by two preachers, Bolzius and Gronau, both disciplined in charity at the Orphan House in Halle. A passage of six days carried them from Rotterdam to Dover, where several of the trustees visited them and provided considerately for their wants. In January 1734, they set sail for their new homes. The majesty of the ocean quickened their sense of God's omnipotence and wisdom; and, as they lost sight of land, they broke out into a hymn to his glory. The setting sun, after a calm, so kindled the sea and the sky that words could not express their rapture, and they cried out: "How lovely the creation! How infinitely lovely the Creator!" When the wind was adverse, they prayed; and, as it changed, one opened his mind to the other on the power of prayer, even the prayer "of a man subject to like passions as we are." A devout listener confessed himself to be an unconverted man; and they reminded him of the promise to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at the word. As they sailed pleasantly with a favoring breeze, at the hour of evening prayer they made a covenant with each other, like Jacob of old, and resolved by the grace of Christ to cast all the strange gods which were in their hearts into the depths of the sea. In February, a storm grew so high that not a sail could be set; and they raised their voices in prayer and song amid the tempest, for to love the Lord Jesus as a brother gave consolation. At Charleston, Oglethorpe, on the eighteenth of March 1734, bade them welcome; and, in five days more, the wayfarers, whose home was beyond the skies, pitched their tents near Savannah.

It remained to select for them a residence. To cheer their principal men as they toiled through the forest and across brooks, Oglethorpe, having provided horses, joined the party.

By the aid of blazed trees and Indian guides, he made his way through morasses; a fallen tree served as a bridge over a stream, which the horses swam; at night he encamped with them abroad round a fire, and shared every fatigue, till the spot for their village was chosen, and, like the rivulet which formed its border, was named Ebenezer. There they built their dwellings, and there they resolved to raise a column of stone in token of gratitude to God, whose providence had brought them safely to the ends of the earth.

In the same year, the town of Augusta was laid out, soon to become the favorite resort of Indian traders. The good success of Oglethorpe made the colony increase rapidly by volunteer emigrants. "His undertaking will succeed," said Johnson, the governor of South Carolina; "for he nobly devotes all his powers to serve the poor, and rescue them from their wretchedness." "He bears a great love to the servants and children of God," wrote the pastor of Ebenezer. "He has taken care of us to the utmost of his ability." "God has so blessed his presence and his regulations in the land, that others would not in many years have accomplished what he has brought about in one."

At length, in April 1734, after a residence in America of about fifteen months, Oglethorpe sailed for England, taking with him Tomo-chichi and others of the Creeks to do homage at court, and to invigorate the confidence of England in the destiny of the new colony, which was shown to possess the friendship of the surrounding Indian nations.

His absence left Georgia to its own development. For its franchises, it had only the system of juries; and, though it could not prosper but by self-reliance, legislation by its own representatives was not begun.

The laws which the trustees had instituted were irksome. To prevent the monopoly of lands, to insure an estate even to the sons of the unthrifty, to strengthen a frontier colony, the trustees, deceived by reasonings from the system of feudal law and by their own prejudices as members of the landed aristocracy of England, had granted lands only in tail male. Here was a grievance that soon occasioned a just discontent.

A regulation which prohibited the sale of rum led only to clandestine traffic.

A third rule forbade the introduction of slaves. The praise of Georgia was uttered in London in 1734: "Let avarice defend it as it will, there is an honest reluctance in humanity against buying and selling, and regarding those of our own species as our wealth and possession. The name of slavery is here unheard, and every inhabitant is free from unchosen masters and oppression." "Slavery," Oglethorpe relates, "is against the gospel, as well as the fundamental law of England. We refused, as trustees, to make a law permitting such a horrid crime." "The purchase of negroes is forbidden," wrote Von Reck, "on account of the vicinity of the Spaniards;" and this was doubtless "the governmental view." The colony was "an asylum to receive the distressed. It was, therefore, necessary not to permit slaves in such a country; for slaves starve the poor laborer." But, after a little more than two years, several of the so-called "better sort of people in Savannah" addressed a petition to the trustees "for the use of negroes."

In England, Oglethorpe won universal favor for his colony, the youngest child of the colonial enterprise of England. Parliament continued its benefactions; the king expressed interest in a province which bore his name. In May 1735, the first colony of Moravians, nine in number, was led to Savannah by the devoted evangelist, Spangenberg. He has left the best digest of the Moravian faith, of which the leading idea is the worship of the Saviour, the triumphant Lamb of God. A company of Gaelic Highlanders established New Inverness, "where wild Altama murmured to their woe."

On the sixth of February 1736, three hundred persons, conducted by Oglethorpe, landed not far from Tybee island, "where they all knelt and returned thanks to God for having safely arrived in Georgia." Among that group was a re-enforcement of Moravians—men who had a faith above fear; "whose wives and children even were not afraid to die;" whose simplicity and solemnity in their conferences and prayers seemed to revive the primitive "assemblies, where form and state were not, but Paul the tent-maker, or Peter the fisherman, presided

with the demonstration of the Spirit." There, too, were John and Charles Wesley—the latter selected as the secretary to Oglethorpe, the former eager to become an apostle to the Indians—fervent enthusiasts, who by their own confession were not yet disciplined to a peaceful possession of their souls. The elder of them, by his intercourse with the Moravians, was aided in forming his system of religious organization. "That they were simple of heart, but yet that their ideas were disturbed," was the judgment of Zinzendorf. "Our end in leaving our native country," said they, "is not to gain riches and honor, but singly this—to live wholly to the glory of God." They desired to make Georgia a religious colony, having no theory but devotion, no ambition but to quicken the sentiment of piety. The reformation of Luther and Calvin had included a political revolution; its advocates went abroad on the whirlwind, and overthrew institutions which time had consecrated and selfishness perverted. But the age in which religious and political excitements were united had passed away; with the period of commercial influence, fanaticism had no sympathy. Mystic piety, more intense by its aversion to the theories of the eighteenth century, appeared as the rainbow; and Wesley was as the sower, who comes after the clouds have been lifted up and the floods have subsided, and scatters his seed in the serene hour of peace. The new devotees, content to remain under the guardianship of the established government, sought to enjoy the exquisite delights of religious sensibility, not to overthrow dynasties or to break the bonds of colonial dependence. By John Wesley, who remained in America less than two years, no share in moulding the political institutions of the colony was exerted or desired. As he strolled through natural avenues of palmettoes and evergreen hollies and woods sombre with hanging moss, his heart gushed forth in addresses to God:

Is there a thing beneath the sun,
That strives with Thee my heart to share?
Ah! tear it thence, and reign alone—
The Lord of every motion there.

The austerity of his maxims involved him in controversies with the mixed settlers of Georgia; and his residence in Ameri-

ca preceded his influence on the religious culture of its people. His brother was still less suited to shape events; the privations and hardships of the wilderness among rough associates plunged his gentle nature into the depths of melancholy and homesickness; and, at this time, his journal is not a record of events around him, but rather a chronicle of what passed within himself, the groundless jealousies of a pure mind, rendered suspicious by pining disease. When afterward George Whitefield came, his intrepid nature did not lose its cheerfulness in the encounter with the wilderness; incited by the example of the Lutheran Salzburgers and the fame of the Orphan House at Halle, he founded and sustained an orphan house at Savannah by contributions which his eloquence extorted. He visited all the provinces from Florida to the northern frontier, and made his grave in New England; but he swayed no legislatures, and is chiefly remembered for his power of reviving religious convictions in the multitude.

Oglethorpe, in February 1736, visited the Salzburgers at Ebenezer, to praise their good husbandry and to select the site of their new settlement; of which the lines were no sooner drawn, and the streets laid out, than huts covered with bark rose up, and the labors of the field were renewed. In a few years, the produce of raw silk by the Germans amounted to ten thousand pounds a year; and indigo became a staple. In earnest memorials, they deprecated the employment of negro slaves, pleading the ability of the white man to toil even under the suns of Georgia. Their religious affections bound them together in the unity of brotherhood; their controversies were decided among themselves; every event of life had its moral; and the fervor of their worship never disturbed their healthy tranquillity of judgment. They were cheerful and at peace.

From the Salzburger towns, Oglethorpe hastened to the southward, passing in a scout boat through the narrow inland channels, which delighted the eye by their sea-green color and stillness, and were sheltered by woods of pines, and evergreen oaks, and cedars, that came close to the water's side. On the second day, aided by the zeal of his own men and by Indians skilful in using the oar, he arrived at St. Simon's island. A fire, kindling the long grass on an old Indian field, cleared a

space for the streets of Frederica; and, amid the mirthful carols of the rice, the red, and the mocking bird, a fort was constructed on the centre of the bluff, with four bastions commanding the river and protecting the palmetto bowers, which, each twenty feet by fourteen, were set up on forks and poles in regular rows; a tight and convenient shelter.

It was but ten miles from Frederica to the Scottish settlement at Darien. To give heart to them by his presence, Oglethorpe, in the Highland costume, sailed up the Alatamaha; and all the Highlanders, as they perceived his approach, assembled with their plaids, broadswords, targets, and fire-arms, to bid him welcome. The brave men were pleased that a town was to be settled, that ships were to come up so near them, and that they now had a communication by land with Savannah. Trees had been blazed all the way for a "horse-road."

It remained to vindicate the boundaries of Georgia. With the Highlanders as volunteers, he explored the channels south of Frederica; and, on the island which took the name of Cumberland, he marked out a fort to be called St. Andrew's. Then, claiming the St. John's river as the boundary of the territory possessed by the Indian subjects of England at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, on the southern extremity of Amelia island, he planted the Fort St. George for the defence of the British frontier.

The rumors of his intended expedition had reached the wilderness; and, in May, the Uchees, all brilliantly painted, came down to form an alliance and to grasp the hatchet. Long speeches and the exchange of presents were followed by the war-dance. Tomo-chichi appeared with his warriors, ever ready to hunt the buffalo along the frontiers of Florida, or to engage in warfare with the few planters on that peninsula.

Oglethorpe knew that the Spaniards had been tampering with his allies, and were willing to cut off the settlements in Georgia at a blow; but, regardless of incessant toil; securing domains not to his family, but to emigrants; not even appropriating to himself permanently a cottage or a single lot of fifty acres—he was determined to assert the claims of England, and preserve his colony as the bulwark of English North America. "To me," said he to Charles Wesley, "death is

nothing." "If separate spirits," he added, "regard our little concerns, they do it as men regard the follies of their childhood."

For that season, active hostilities were avoided by negotiation. The Fort St. George was abandoned, but St. Andrew's, commanding the approach to the St. Mary's, was maintained. Hence, the St. Mary's ultimately became the boundary of the colony of Oglethorpe.

The friendship of the red men insured the safety of the English settlements. In July 1736, the Chicasaws, animated by their victory over the Illinois and Artaguette, came down to narrate how unexpectedly they had been attacked, how victoriously they had resisted, with what exultations they had consumed their prisoners by fire. Ever attached to the English, they now deputed thirty warriors, with their civil sachem and war-chief, to make an alliance with Oglethorpe, whose fame had reached the Mississippi. They brought for him an Indian chaplet, made from the spoils of their enemies, glittering with feathers of many hues, and enriched with the horns of buffaloes. The Creeks, Cherokees, and Chicasaws were his unwavering friends, and even the Choctaws covenanted with him to receive English traders. To hasten preparations for the impending contest with Spain, Oglethorpe embarked for England. Arriving in January 1737, he could report to the trustees "that the colony was doing well; that Indians from seven hundred miles' distance had confederated with him, and acknowledged the authority of his sovereign."

CHAPTER XVII.

WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN.

1739–1748.

Receiving a commission as brigadier-general, with a military command extending over South Carolina, Oglethorpe, in Great Britain, raised and disciplined a regiment; and, after an absence of more than a year and a half, in 1738 returned to Frederica. There his soldiers completed the walls of the fortress. Its ivy-mantled ruins are still standing.

At Savannah, he was welcomed by salutes and bonfires. But he refused any alteration in the tenures of land. In answer to "repeated applications" for the allowance of slaves, he, with the applause of the trustees, "persisted in denying the use of them," and declared that, if they should be introduced into Georgia, "he would have no further concern with the colony."

By frankness and fidelity Oglethorpe preserved the affection of the natives. The Chicasaws renewed their covenants of friendship. The Muskohgees had, from the first, regarded him as their father; and, as he knew their language, they appealed to him directly in every emergency.

In the summer of 1739, the civil and war chiefs of the Muskohgees held a general council in Cusitas, on the Chattahoochee; and Oglethorpe came into the large square of their council-place, distributed presents, and renewed and explained their covenants. It was then agreed that the lands from the St. John's to the Savannah, from the sea to the mountains, belonged of ancient right to the Muskohgees. Their cession to the English of the land on the Savannah, as far as the

Ogeechee, and along the coast to the St. John's as far into the interior as the tide flows, was, with a few reservations, confirmed. The right of pre-emption was reserved for the trustees of Georgia, who agreed never to take land without the consent of its ancient proprietaries.

In England, Walpole pleaded for peace with Spain in the name of honor, justice, and the true interests of commerce. But the active English mind, eager for sudden gains and soured by disappointment, was resolved on illicit traffic, or on plunder and conquest. A war was desired, not because England insisted on cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, where Spain claimed a jurisdiction and had founded no settlements; nor because the South Sea company differed with the king of Spain as to the balances of their accounts; nor yet because the boundary between Carolina and Florida was still in dispute—these differences could have been adjusted—but, as all agree, because English "merchants were not permitted to smuggle with impunity." A considerable part of the population of Jamaica was sustained by the profits of the contraband trade with Spanish ports; the annual ship to Porto Bello, which the assiento permitted, was followed at a distance by smaller vessels; and fresh bales of goods were nightly introduced in the place of those that had been discharged during the day. British smuggling vessels, pretending distress, would claim the right by treaty to enter Spanish harbors on the Gulf of Mexico. The colonial commerce of Spain was almost annihilated. In former days, the tonnage of the fleet of Cadiz had amounted to fifteen thousand tons; it was now reduced to two thousand tons, and had no office but to carry the royal revenues from America.

The monarch of Spain, busy in celebrating auto-da-fés and burning heretics, and regarding as an affair of state the question who should be revered as the true patron saint of his kingdom, was at last roused to address complaints to England, but they were turned aside; and when the Spanish officers showed vigor in executing the laws of Spain, the English merchants resented their interference as wanton aggressions. One Jenkins, who to smuggling had joined piratical maraudings, was summoned to the bar of the house of commons to give evi-

dence. The tale which he was disciplined to tell of the loss of one of his ears by Spanish cruelty, of dishonor offered to the British flag and the British crown, was received without distrust. "What were your feelings when in the hands of such barbarians?" was asked by a member, as his mutilated ear was exhibited. "I commended my soul to my God," answered the impudent fabler, "and my cause to my country." "We have no need of allies to enable us to command justice; the story of Jenkins will raise volunteers:" was the cry of Pulteney, in his zeal to overthrow the administration of Walpole. The clamor of orators was seconded by the poets: Pope, in his dying notes, sneered at the timidity which was willing to avoid offence,

> And own the Spaniard did a waggish thing,
> Who cropped our ears, and sent them to the king;

and Samuel Johnson, in more earnest language, exclaimed:

> Has Heaven reserved, in pity to the poor,
> No pathless waste or undiscovered shore?
> No secret island in the boundless main?
> No peaceful desert yet unclaimed by Spain?

In January 1739, a convention was signed. The mutual claims for damages were balanced and liquidated; and while the king of Spain demanded of the South Sea company sixty-eight thousand pounds, as due to him for his share of their profits, he agreed to pay, as an indemnity to British merchants for losses sustained by unwarranted seizures, the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds. On these questions no dispute remained but the trivial one whether the British government should guarantee to Spain the acknowledged debt of the South Sea company. For Florida it was agreed that each nation was to retain its present possessions till commissioners could mark the boundary. In other words, England was to hold undisturbed jurisdiction over the country as far as the mouth of the St. Mary's.

Walpole resisted the clamor of the mercantile interest, and, opposing the duke of Newcastle, advocated the acceptance of the convention. "It requires no great abilities in a minister," he said, "to pursue such measures as may make a war unavoidable. But how many ministers have known the art of avoid

ing war by making a safe and honorable peace?" "The convention," said William Pitt in his first speech on American affairs, "is insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonorable: I think, from my soul, it is nothing but a stipulation for national ignominy. Your despairing merchants and the voice of England have condemned it. Be the guilt of it upon the head of the advisers; God forbid that this committee should share the guilt by approving it." But Pulteney and his associates were in the wrong. The original documents demonstrate "the extreme injustice" of their opposition. "It was my fortune," said Edmund Burke, "to converse with those who principally excited that clamor. None of them, no, not one, did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct."

In an ill hour for herself, in a happy one for America, England, on the twenty-third of October 1739, declared war against Spain. If the rightfulness of the European colonial system be conceded, her declaration was a wanton invasion of it for immediate selfish purposes; but, in endeavoring to open the ports of Spanish America to the mercantile enterprise of her own people, she was beginning a war on colonial monopoly. Sir Robert Walpole remained chief minister till the end of January 1742. After an unstable period of nineteen months, his friend, Henry Pelham, took the lead and held it till death, but neither Walpole nor Pelham was fitted to conduct a war.

To acquire possession of the richest portions of Spanish America, Anson, in 1740, was sent with a small squadron into the Pacific; but as he passed Cape Horn, the winds, whose fury made an ordinary gale appear as a gentle breeze, scattered his ships; one after another of them was wrecked or disabled; and at last, with a single vessel, after circumnavigating the globe, he returned to England, laden with spoils and rich in adventures.

In November 1739, Edward Vernon, with six men-of-war, appeared off Porto Bello. The attack on the feeble and ill-supplied garrison began on the twenty-first; and, on the next day, Vernon, losing but seven men, was in possession of the town and the castles. A booty of ten thousand dollars and the demolition of the fortifications were the sole fruits of the enterprise; and, having acquired no rightful claim to glory, Vernon

returned to Jamaica. In 1740, he took and demolished Fort Chagre, on this side of the Isthmus of Darien, but without result, for want of the co-operation of Anson at Panama. Vernon belonged to the opposition; and the enemies of Walpole exalted his praises, till his heroism was made a proverb, his birthday signalized by lights and bonfires, and his head selected as the favorite ornament for sign-posts.

England prepared to send to the West Indies by far the largest fleet and army that had ever appeared in the Gulf of Mexico, and summoned the colonies north of Carolina to contribute four battalions to the armament. The requisition was generally and zealously complied with; even Pennsylvania, by a vote of money, enabled its governor to enlist troops for the occasion. "It will not be amiss," wrote Sir Charles Wager to Admiral Vernon, "for both French and Spaniards to be a month or two in the West Indies before us, that they may be half-dead and half-roasted before our fleet arrives." So the expedition from England did not begin its voyage till October, and, losing the commander of its land forces on the way, reached Jamaica in the early part of the following year. The inexperienced, irresolute Wentworth succeeded to the command of the army; the naval force was under Vernon, who was impatient of contradiction, and ill disposed to endure even an associate. The enterprise, instead of having one good leader, had two bad ones.

Wasting at Jamaica the time from the ninth of January 1741, till near the end of the month, at last, with a fleet of twenty-nine ships of the line, beside about eighty smaller vessels, with fifteen thousand sailors, and twelve thousand land troops, all thoroughly equipped, Vernon weighed anchor. Havana lay within three days' sail; its conquest would have made England supreme in the Gulf of Mexico. But he insisted on hunting for the fleet of the French and Spaniards; and the French had already left the fatal clime.

The council of war, yielding to his vehemence, next resolved to attack Carthagena, the strongest place in Spanish America. The fleet appeared before the town on the fourth of March, and lost five days by inactivity. Fifteen days were required to take the fortress near the entrance to the harbor;

the Spaniards themselves abandoned Castillo Grande. It remained to storm Fort San Lazaro, which commanded the town. The attack, devised without judgment, was made by twelve hundred men with intrepidity; but the admiral gave no timely aid to the land forces; the assailants were repulsed with the loss of half their number; and discord aggravated defeat. Ere long, rains set in. The fever of the low country in the tropics began its rapid work; battalions were "poisoned by the air and crippled by the dews;" the dead were cast into the sea, sometimes without winding-sheet or sinkers; the hospital ships were crowded in the three days that elapsed between the descent and re-embarkation; the effective land force dwindled from six thousand six hundred to three thousand two hundred. The English could only demolish the fortifications and retire.

When, late in November, the expedition which was to have prepared the way for conquering Mexico and Peru returned to Jamaica, the total loss of lives was estimated at about twenty thousand, of whom few fell by the enemy. Of the recruits from the colonies, nine out of ten perished.

In March 1742, Vernon and Wentworth planned an expedition against Panama; but, on reaching Porto Bello, the design was voted impracticable, and they returned. Meantime, the commerce of England with Spain was destroyed; the assiento was interrupted; even the contraband was impaired; while English ships became the plunder of privateers. England had made no acquisitions, and had inflicted on the Spanish West Indies far less evil than she herself had suffered.

On receiving instructions from England of the approaching war with Spain, Oglethorpe, before the close of the year, extended the boundaries of Georgia once more to the St. John's, and in the first week of 1740 he entered Florida. Re-enforcements from South Carolina were delayed so long that June had come before he could lead six hundred regular troops, four hundred Carolina militia, and two hundred Indian auxiliaries, to the walls of St. Augustine. The garrison, commanded by Monteano, a man of courage and energy, had already received supplies. For nearly five weeks, Oglethorpe, in defiance of the strength of the place, endeavored to devise measures for victory, but in vain. Threatened with desertion by his

troops, he returned to Frederica. The few prisoners whom he made were kindly treated; not a field, nor a garden, nor a house near St. Augustine was injured, unless by the Indians, whom he reproved and restrained.

To make good its pretensions, the Spanish government resolved on invading Georgia. In 1742, forces from Cuba and a fleet, of which the strength has been greatly exaggerated, sailed toward the mouth of the St. Mary's. Fort William, which Oglethorpe had constructed at the southern extremity of Cumberland island, defended the entrance successfully, till, fighting his way through Spanish vessels, the general re-enforced it. Then returning to St. Simon's, with less than a thousand men, he prepared for defence.

On the fifth of July, seven days after it first came to anchor off Simon's bar, the Spanish fleet of thirty-six vessels, with the tide of flood and a brisk gale, entered St. Simon's harbor, and succeeded in passing the English batteries on the southern point of the island. Oglethorpe signalled his ships to run up to Frederica, and, spiking the guns of the lower fort, withdrew to the town; while the Spaniards landed at Gascoin's bluff, and took possession of the camps which the English had abandoned. On the seventh of July, a body of the invaders advanced within a mile of the town; they were met by the general with the Highland company, were overcome, pursued, and most of them killed or taken prisoners. A second party marched to the assault; at a spot where the narrow avenue, bending with the edge of the morass, forms a crescent, they fell into an ambuscade, and were driven back with a loss of about two hundred men. The ground, which was strown with the dead, took the name of "the Bloody Marsh." During the night of the fourteenth, the Spaniards re-embarked, leaving ammunition and guns behind them. On the eighteenth, as they proceeded to the south, they once more attacked Fort William, which was bravely defended by Stuart and his garrison of fifty men. On the twenty-fourth of July, Oglethorpe could order a general thanksgiving for the end of the invasion.

In 1743, after a year of tranquillity, he sailed for England, never again to behold the colony to which he consecrated the disinterested toils of ten years. Gentle in nature and affable;

hating nothing but papists and Spain; merciful to the prisoner; a father to the emigrant; the unwavering friend of Wesley; the constant benefactor of the Moravians; honestly zealous for the conversion of the Indians; invoking for the negro the panoply of the gospel; the reliever of the poor—his name became another expression for "vast benevolence of soul." In a commercial period, a loyalist in the state, and a friend to the church, he seemed even in youth like the relic of a more chivalrous century. His life was prolonged to near fivescore; and, even in its last year, he was extolled as "the finest figure" ever seen, the impersonation of venerable age; his faculties were bright, his eye undimmed; "heroic, romantic, and full of the old gallantry," he was like the sound of the lyre, as it still vibrates after the spirit that sweeps its strings has passed away. His legislation did not outlive his power. The system of tail male went gradually into oblivion; the importation of rum ceased to be forbidden; slaves from Carolina were hired by the planter, first for a short period, next for life or a hundred years. Then slavers from Africa sailed directly to Savannah, and the laws against them were not enforced. Whitefield, who believed that God's providence would certainly make slavery terminate for the advantage of the African, pleaded before the trustees in its favor, as essential to the prosperity of Georgia. The Salzburgers, in 1751, began to think that negro slaves might be employed in a Christian spirit; and that, if the negroes were treated in a Christian manner, their change of country would prove to them a benefit. A message from Germany assisted to hush their scruples: "If you take slaves in faith and with the intent of conducting them to Christ, the action will not be a sin, but may prove a benediction."

The war for colonial commerce became merged in a European struggle, involving the principles and the designs which had agitated the civilized world for centuries. In France, in 1740, Fleury, like Walpole desiring to adhere to the policy of peace, was, like Walpole, overruled by selfish rivals. As he looked upon the commotions in Europe, it appeared to him that the end of the world was at hand; and it was so with regard to the world of feudalism. He expressed his aversion to

all wars; and when the king of Spain—whom natural melancholy, irritated by ill-health and losses, prompted to abdicate the throne—obtained of Louis XV., under his own hand, a promise of fifty ships of the line, the prime minister explained his purposes: "I do not propose to begin a war with England, or to seize or to annoy one British ship, or to take one foot of land possessed by England in any part of the world. Yet I must prevent England from appropriating to itself the entire commerce of the West Indies." "France, though it has no treaty with Spain, cannot consent that the Spanish colonies should fall into English hands." "It is our object," said the statesmen of France, "not to make war on England, but to induce it to consent to a peace."

By the death of Charles VI., in October 1740, the extinction of the male line of the house of Hapsburg raised a question about the Austrian succession. Treaties to which France was a party, secured the Austrian dominions to Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI.; while, from an erudite genealogy or the complication of marriages, the sovereigns of Spain, of Saxony, and of Bavaria, each derived a claim to the undivided heritage. The interest of the French king, his political system, his faith as pledged by a special covenant, the advice of his minister, demanded of him the recognition of the rights of Maria Theresa; and yet, swayed by the intrigues of new advisers and the hereditary hatred of Austria, he constituted himself the centre of an alliance against her. No statesman of that day, except Frederic of Prussia, seemed to perceive the tendency of events. As England, by its encroachments on Spain, enlarged commercial freedom and began the independence of colonies, so France, by its unjustifiable war on Austria, floated from its moorings, and foreboded the wreck of absolute monarchy.

In the great European contest, England, true to its policy of connecting itself with the second continental power, gave subsidies to Austria. In February 1744, the fleets of England and Spain meet in the Mediterranean; that of England is victorious. In March of the same year, France declares war against England, in April against Austria; and the conflicts in America are lost in the conflagration of Europe.

Never did history present such a scene of confusion. While the selfishness which had produced the general war was itself without faith, it made use of all the resources that were offered by ancient creeds or ancient animosities, by Protestantism and the Roman church, legitimacy and the mercantile system, the ancient rivalry of France and Austria, the reciprocal jealousies of France and England. The enthusiasm of other centuries in religious strifes was extinct. Europe rocked like the ocean on the lulling of a long storm.

The absence of purity in public life left an opportunity to the Pretender, in 1746, to invade Great Britain, to conquer Scotland, and to advance within four days' march of London. This invasion had no partisans in America, where the house of Hanover was respected as the representative of Protestantism. In England, the vices of the reigning family had produced disgust and indifference, and renewed the question of a choice of dynasty; America was destined to elect not between kings, but forms of government.

On the continent, France gained fruitless victories. Her flag waved over Prague only to be struck down. Saxony, Bavaria, her allies on the borders of Austria, one after another, abandoned her. The fields of blood at Fontenoy, in 1745, at Raucoux, in 1746, at Laffeldt, in 1747, were barren of results; for the collision of armies was but an unmeaning collision of brute force. Statesmen scoffed at virtue, and she avenged herself by bringing their counsels to nought. In vain did they marshal all Europe in hostile array; they had no torch of truth to pass from nation to nation; and therefore, though they could besiege cities and burn the granges of the peasant, yet, except as their purposes were overruled, their lavish prodigality of treasure and honor and life was fruitless to humanity.

One result, however, of which the character did not at first appear, was during the conflict achieved in the north. Protestantism was represented on the continent by no great power. Frederic II., a pupil of Leibnitz and Wolf, took advantage of the confusion, and, with the audacity of youth and strength, and an ambition which knew where to set bounds to its own impetuosity, wrested Silesia from Austria. Indifferent to alliances with powers which, having no fixed aims, could have no fixed

friendships, he entered into the contest alone and withdrew from it alone. Twice assuming arms and twice concluding a separate peace, after the wars of 1742 and 1745 he retired with a guarantee from England of the acquisitions which, aided by the power of opinion, constituted his monarchy the central point of political interest on the continent of Europe.

In the East Indies, the commercial companies of France and England struggled for supremacy. The empire of the Great Mogul lay in ruins, inviting a restorer. But who should undertake its reconstruction? An active instinct urged the commercial world of England to seek a nearer connection with Hindostan; again the project of discovering a north-western passage to India was renewed; and, to encourage the spirit of adventurous curiosity, the English parliament promised liberal rewards for success. The French company of the Indies, aided by the king, confirmed its power at Pondicherry: but, as the Sorbonne had published to a credulous nation that dividends on the stock of the commercial company would be usurious and therefore a crime against religion, the corporation was unfortunate, though private merchants were gaining wealth in the Carnatic and on the Ganges. The brave mariner from St. Malo, the enterprising La Bourdonnais, at his government in the isle of France, devised schemes of conquest. But the future was not foreseen; and, limited by instructions from the French ministers to make no acquisitions of territory whatever, though, with the aid of the governor of Pondicherry, he might have gained for France the ascendency in Hindostan, he pledged his word of honor to restore Madras to the English, when, in September 1746, he proudly planted the flag of France on the fortress of the city which, next to Goa and Batavia, was the most opulent of the European establishments in India.

Russia was invited to take part in the contest; and, in her first political associations with our country, she was the stipendiary of England. By her interference, she hastened the return of peace. But, at an earlier period of the war, she had, in the opposite direction, drawn near our present borders. After the empire of the czars had been extended over Kamtschatka, Peter the Great had planned a voyage of discovery along the shores of Asia; and, in 1728, Behring demon-

strated the insulation of that continent on the east. In 1741, the same intrepid navigator, sailing with two vessels from Okhotsk, discovered the narrow straits which divide the continents; caught glimpses of the mountains of north-west America; traced the line of the Aleutian archipelago; and, in the midst of snows and ice, fell a victim to fatigue on a desert island of the group which bears his name. The gallant Danish mariner did not know that he had seen America; but Russia, by right of discovery, thus gained the north-west of our continent.

While the states of Europe, by means of their wide relations, were fast forming the nations of the whole world into one political system, the few incidents of war in our America could obtain no interest. The true theatre of the war was not there. A proposition was brought forward to form a union of all the colonies, for the purposes of defence; but danger was not so universal or so imminent, as to furnish a sufficient motive for a confederacy. The peace of the central provinces was unbroken; the government of Virginia feared dissenters more than Spaniards.

At Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, the governor of that state, with commissioners from Maryland and from Virginia, in 1744, met the deputies of the Iroquois, who, since the union with the Tuscaroras, became known as the Six Nations. "We conquered," said they, "the country of the Indians beyond the mountains: if the Virginians ever gain a good right to it, it must be from us." And, for about four hundred pounds, the deputies of the Six Nations made "a deed, recognising the king's right to all the lands that are or shall be, by his majesty's appointment, in the colony of Virginia." The lands in Maryland were in like manner confirmed to Lord Baltimore, but with definite limits; the deed to Virginia extended the claim of that colony indefinitely in the West and North-west.

The events of the war of England with France were then detailed, and the conditions of the former treaties of alliance were called to mind. "The covenant chain between us and Pennsylvania," replied Canassatego, "is an ancient one, and has never contracted rust. We shall have all your country under our eye. Before we came here, we told the French

governor there was room enough at sea to fight, where he might do what he pleased; but he should not come upon our land to do any damage to our brethren." After a pause, it was added: "The Six Nations have a great authority over the praying Indians, who stand in the gates of the French: to show our further care, we have engaged these very Indians and other allies of the French to agree with us that they will not join against you." The Virginians proposed to educate the children of the Iroquois at their public school. "Brother Assaragoa," they replied, "we must let you know we love our children too well to send them so great a way; and the Indians are not inclined to give their children learning. Your invitation is good, but our customs differ from yours." And then, acknowledging the rich gifts from the three provinces, they continued, as if aware of their doom: "We have provided a small present for you; but, alas! we are poor, and shall ever remain so, as long as there are so many Indian traders among us. Theirs and the white people's cattle eat up all the grass, and make deer scarce." And they presented three bundles of skins. At the close of the conference, on the fourth of July 1744, the Indians gave, in their order, five loud cries; and the English agents, after a health to the king of England and the Six Nations, put an end to the assembly by three huzzas. Great Britain had confirmed its claims to the basin of the Ohio, and protected its northern frontier.

The sense of danger led the Pennsylvanians for the first time to a military organization effected by a voluntary system, under the influence of Franklin. "He was the sole author of two lotteries, that raised above six thousand pounds to pay for the charge of batteries on the river;" and he "found a way to put the country on raising above one hundred and twenty companies of militia, of which Philadelphia raised ten, of about a hundred men each." "The women were so zealous that they furnished ten pairs of silk colors, wrought with various mottoes." Of the Quakers, many admitted the propriety of self-defence. "I principally esteem Benjamin Franklin," wrote Logan, "for saving the country by his contriving the militia. He was the prime actor in all this;" and, when elected to the command of a regiment, he declined the distinc-

tion, and, as a volunteer, "himself carried a musket among the common soldiers."

The greatest exploit in America during the war proceeded from New England. On the surrender of Acadia to England, the lakes, the rivulets, the granite ledges of Cape Breton, of which the irregular outline is guarded by reefs of rocks, and notched by the constant action of the sea, were immediately occupied as a province of France; and, in 1714, fugitives from Newfoundland and Acadia built huts along its coasts, wherever safe inlets invited fishermen to spread their flakes, and the soil to plant fields and gardens. In 1720, the fortifications of Louisburg began to rise, the key to the St. Lawrence, the bulwark of the French fisheries, and of French commerce in North America. From Cape Breton, in May 1744, a body of French, before the news of the declaration of war by France had reached New England, surprised the little English garrison at Canso; destroyed the fishery, the fort, and the other buildings there; and removed eighty men, as prisoners of war, to Louisburg. The fortifications of Annapolis, the only remaining defence of Nova Scotia, were in a state of ruin. An attack made upon it by Indians in the service of the French, accompanied by Le Loutre, their missionary, was with difficulty repelled. The inhabitants of the province, from twelve to sixteen thousand, were of French origin; and a revolt of the people, with the aid of Indian allies, might have once more placed France in possession of it. While William Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, foresaw the danger, and solicited aid from England, the officers and men taken at Canso, after passing the summer in captivity at Louisburg, were sent to Boston on parole. They brought accurate accounts of the condition of that fortress; and Shirley resolved on its reduction. The fishermen, especially of Marblehead, interrupted in their pursuits by the war, disdained an idle summer, and entered readily into the design. The legislature of Massachusetts, after some hesitation, in January 1745, resolved on the expedition by a majority of one vote. Solicited to render assistance, New York sent a small supply of artillery, and Pennsylvania of provisions; New England alone furnished men; of whom Connecticut raised five hundred and sixteen; New Hampshire

—to whose troops Whitefield gave, as Charles Wesley had done to Oglethorpe, the motto, "Nothing is to be despaired of, with Christ for the leader"—contributed five hundred; while the forces levied for the occasion by Massachusetts exceeded three thousand volunteers. Three hundred men sailed from Rhode Island, but too late for active service. An express-boat requested the co-operation of Commodore Warren at Antigua, with such ships as could be spared from the leeward islands; but, in a consultation with the captains of his squadron, it was unanimously resolved, in the absence of directions from England, not to engage in the scheme.

Relying on themselves, the volunteers of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, with a merchant, William Pepperell, of Maine, for their chief commander, met at Canso. The inventive genius of New England was active; one proposed a model of a flying bridge, to scale the walls even before a breach should be made; another, who was a minister, presented a plan for encamping the army, opening trenches, and placing batteries. Shirley, wisest of all, gave instructions for the fleet of a hundred vessels to arrive together at a precise hour; heedless of the surf, to land in the dark on the rocky shore; to march forthwith, through thicket and bog, to the city, and beyond it; and to take the fortress and royal battery by surprise before daybreak. Such was the confiding spirit at home. The expedition itself was composed of fishermen, who, with prudent forethought took with them their cod-lines; of mechanics, skilled from childhood in the use of the gun; of lumberers, inured to fatigue and encampments in the woods; of husbandmen from the interior, who, hunters from boyhood, had grown up with arms in their hands; keenest marksmen; all volunteers; all commanded by officers from among themselves; many of them church members; almost all having wives and children. On the first Sabbath, "the very great company of people" came together on shore, to hear a sermon on enlisting as volunteers in the service of the Great Captain of our salvation! As the ice of Cape Breton was drifting in such heaps that a vessel could not enter its harbors, the New England fleet was detained many days at Canso, when, under a clear sky and a bright sun, on the twenty-third of April,

the squadron of Commodore Warren happily arrived. Hardly had his council at Antigua declined the enterprise, when instructions from England bade him render every aid to Massachusetts; and, learning at sea the embarkation of the troops, he sailed directly to Canso. The next day brought nine vessels from Connecticut with the forces from that colony in high spirits and good health.

On the last day of April, an hour after sunrise, the armament, in a hundred vessels of New England, entering the bay of Chapeau Rouge, or Gabarus, as the English called it, came in sight of Louisburg. Its walls, raised on a neck of land on the south side of the harbor, forty feet thick at the base, and from twenty to thirty feet high, all within sweep of the bastions, surrounded by a ditch eighty feet wide, were furnished with one hundred and one cannon, seventy-six swivels, and six mortars. The harbor was defended by an island battery of thirty twenty-two pounders, and by the royal battery on the shore, having thirty large cannon, a moat and bastions, all so perfect that it was thought two hundred men could have defended it against five thousand. On the other hand, the New England forces had but eighteen cannon and three mortars; but no sooner did they come in sight of the city than, letting down the whale-boats, "they flew to shore, like eagles to the quarry." The French that came down to prevent the landing were put to flight, and driven into the woods. On the next day, a detachment of four hundred men, led by William Vaughan, a volunteer from New Hampshire, marched by the city, which it greeted with three cheers, and took post near the north-east harbor. The French who held the royal battery, struck with panic, spiked its guns, and abandoned it in the night. In the morning, boats from the city came to recover it; but Vaughan and thirteen men, standing on the beach, kept them from landing till a re-enforcement arrived. To a major in one of the regiments of Massachusetts, Seth Pomeroy, from Northampton, a gunsmith, was assigned the oversight of above twenty smiths in drilling the cannon, which were little injured; and the fire from the city and the island battery was soon returned. "Louisburg," wrote Pomeroy to his family, "is an exceedingly strong place, and seems impreg

nable. It looks as if our campaign would last long; but I am willing to stay till God's time comes to deliver the city into our hands." "Suffer no anxious thought to rest in your mind about me," replied his wife, from the bosom of New England. "The whole town is much engaged with concern for the expedition, how Providence will order the affair, for which religious meetings every week are maintained. I leave you in the hand of God."

The troops made a jest of technical military terms; they laughed at proposals for zigzags and epaulements. The light of nature, however, taught them to erect fascine batteries at the west and south-west of the city. Of these, the most effective was commanded by Tidcomb, whose readiness to engage in hazardous enterprises was justly applauded. As it was necessary, for the purposes of attack, to drag the cannon over boggy morasses, impassable for wheels, Meserve, a New Hampshire colonel who was a carpenter, constructed sledges; and on these the men, with straps over their shoulders, sinking to their knees in mud, drew them safely. The siege proceeded in a random manner. The men knew little of strict discipline; they had no fixed encampment; their lodgings were turf and brush houses; their bed was the earth, dangerous resting-place for those "unacquainted with lying in the woods." Yet the weather was fair; and the atmosphere, usually thick with palpable fogs, was during the whole time singularly dry. All day long, the men, if not on duty, were busy with amusements—firing at marks, fishing, fowling, wrestling, racing, or running after balls shot from the enemy's guns. The feebleness of the garrison, which had only six hundred regular soldiers, with about a thousand Breton militia, prevented sallies; the hunting-parties, as vigilant for the trail of an enemy as for game, rendered a surprise by land impossible; while the fleet of Admiral Warren guarded the approaches by sea.

Four or five attempts to take the island battery, which commanded the entrance to the harbor, had failed. The failure is talked of among the troops; a party of volunteers, after the fashion of Indian expeditions, under a chief of their own election, enlist for a vigorous attack in the night of the twenty-sixth of May; "but now Providence seemed remarkably to

frown upon the affair." The assailants are discovered; a murderous fire strikes their boats before they land; only a part of them reach the island; a severe contest for near an hour ensues; those who can reach the boats escape, with the loss of sixty killed and one hundred and sixteen taken prisoners.

To annoy the island battery, the Americans, under the direction of Gridley, of Boston, erected a battery near the north cape of the harbor, on the Light-house cliff; and within two hundred yards of the city, trenches had been thrown up near an advanced post, which with guns from the royal battery played upon the north-west gate of Louisburg.

Still no breach had been effected, while the labors of the garrison were making the fortifications stronger than ever. The expedition must be abandoned, or the walls of the city scaled. Warren, who had been joined by several ships-of-war ordered from England on the service, agreed to sail into the harbor and bombard the city, while the land forces were to attempt to enter it by storm. But, strong as were the works, the garrison was discontented; and Duchambon, their commander, ignorant of his duties. The Vigilant, a French ship of sixty-four guns, laden with military stores for his supply, had been decoyed by Douglas, of the Mermaid, into the English fleet, and, after an engagement of some hours, had been taken in sight of the besieged town. The desponding governor sent out a flag of truce; terms of capitulation were accepted; on the seventeenth of June, the city, the fort, the batteries, were surrendered; and a New England minister soon preached in the French chapel. As the troops, marching into the place, beheld its strength, their hearts for the first time sunk within them. "God has gone out of the way of his common providence," said they, "in a remarkable and almost miraculous manner, to incline the hearts of the French to give up, and deliver this strong city into our hands." When, on the third of July, the news reached Boston, the bells of the town were rung merrily, and all the people were in transports of joy. The strongest fortress of North America capitulated to New England mechanics and farmers and fishermen. It was the greatest success achieved by England during the war.

France planned the recovery of Louisburg and the desola-

tion of the English colonies; but, in 1746, its large fleet, wasted by storms and shipwrecks and pestilential disease, en feebled by the sudden death of its commander and his successor, attempted nothing. In the next year, the French fleet, with troops destined for Canada and Nova Scotia, was encountered by Anson and Warren; and all its intrepidity could not save it from striking its colors. The American colonies suffered only on the frontier. Fort Massachusetts, the post nearest to Crown Point, having but twenty-two men for its garrison, capitulated to a large body of French and Indians. In the wars of Queen Anne, Deerfield and Haverhill were the scenes of massacre. It marks the progress of settlements that danger was transferred from them to Concord on the Merrimack, and to the township now called Charlestown on the Connecticut.

Repairing to Louisburg, Shirley, with Warren, had concerted a project for reducing all Canada; and the duke of Newcastle replied to their proposals by directing preparations for the conquest. The colonies north of Virginia voted to raise more than eight thousand men; but no fleet arrived from England; and the French were not even driven from their posts in Nova Scotia. The summer of the next year passed in that inactivity which attends the expectation of peace; and in September the provincial army, by direction of the duke of Newcastle, was disbanded. "There is reason enough for doubting whether the king, if he had the power, would wish to drive the French from their possessions in Canada." Such was public opinion at New York, in 1748, as preserved for us by the Swedish traveller, Peter Kalm. "The English colonies in this part of the world," he continues, "have increased so much in wealth and population that they will vie with European England. But, to maintain the commerce and the power of the metropolis, they are forbid to establish new manufactures which might compete with the English; they may dig for gold and silver only on condition of shipping them immediately to England; they have, with the exception of a few fixed places, no liberty to trade to any parts not belonging to the English dominions; and foreigners are not allowed the least commerce with these American colonies. And there are many similar restrictions. These oppressions have made the inhabitants of

the English colonies less tender toward their mother land. This coldness is increased by the many foreigners who are settled among them; for Dutch, Germans, and French are here blended with English, and have no special love for Old England. Besides, some people are always discontented, and love change; and exceeding freedom and prosperity nurse an untamable spirit. I have been told, not only by native Americans, but by English emigrants, publicly, that within thirty or fifty years the English colonies in North America may constitute a separate state, entirely independent of England. But, as this whole country is toward the sea unguarded, and on the frontier is kept uneasy by the French, these dangerous neighbors are the reason why the love of these colonies for their metropolis does not utterly decline. The English government has therefore reason to regard the French in North America as the chief power that urges their colonies to submission."

The Swede heard but the truth, though that truth lay concealed from British statesmen. Even during the war, the spirit of resistance to tyranny was kindled into a fury at Boston. Sir Charles Knowles, the British naval commander, whom Smollet is thought to have described justly as "an officer without resolution, and a man without veracity," having been deserted by some of his crew, while lying off Nantasket, early one morning, in November 1747, sent his boats up to Boston, and impressed seamen from vessels, mechanics and laborers from the wharfs. "Such a surprise could not be borne here," wrote Hutchinson. "Men would not be contented with fair promises from the governor;" "the seizure of the commanders and other officers who were in town was insisted upon, as the only effectual method to procure the release of the inhabitants aboard the ships." And the mob executed what the governor declined to do. After three days of rage and resentment, through the mediation of the house of representatives, order was restored. The officers were released from their irregular imprisonment; and the impressed citizens of Boston were set free.

The alliance of Austria with Russia hastened negotiations for the pacification of Europe; and in 1748 a congress convened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to restore tranquillity to the civilized world. Between England and Spain, and between France and Eng-

land, after eight years of reciprocal annoyance, after an immense accumulation of national debt, the condition of peace was a return to the state before the war. Humanity had suffered, without a purpose and without a result. In the colonial world, Madras was restored for Louisburg; the boundaries between the British and the French provinces in America were left unsettled; the frontier of Florida was not traced. Neither did Spain relinquish the right of searching English vessels suspected of smuggling; and, though it was agreed that the assiento treaty should continue for four years more, the right was soon abandoned, under a new convention, for an inconsiderable pecuniary indemnity. The principle of the freedom of the seas was asserted only by Frederic II. Holland, remaining neutral as long as possible, claimed, under the treaty of 1674, freedom of goods for her ships; but England, disregarding the treaty, captured and condemned her vessels. On occasion of the war between Sweden and Russia, the principle was again urged by the Dutch, and again rejected by the Swedes. Even Prussian ships were seized; but the king of Prussia indemnified the sufferers by reprisals on English property. Of higher questions, in which the interests of civilization were involved, not one was adjusted. To the balance of power, sustained by standing armies of a million of men, the statesmen of that day intrusted the preservation of tranquillity, and, ignorant of the might of principles to mould the relations of states, saw in Austria the certain ally of England, in France the natural ally of Prussia.

Thus, after long years of strife, of repose, and of strife renewed, England and France solemnly agreed to be at peace. The treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle had been negotiated by the ablest statesmen of Europe, in the forms of monarchical diplomacy. They believed themselves the arbiters of mankind, the pacificators of the world; reconstructing the colonial system on a basis which should endure for ages, and confirming the peace of Europe by the nice adjustment of material forces. At the very time of the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the woods of Virginia sheltered the youthful George Washington, who had been born by the side of the Potomac, beneath the roof of a Westmoreland planter, and whose lot almost from infancy

had been that of an orphan. No academy had welcomed him to its shades, no college crowned him with its honors; to read, to write, to cipher—these had been his degrees in knowledge. And now, at sixteen years of age, in quest of an honest maintenance encountering the severest toil; cheered onward by being able to write to a schoolboy friend, "Dear Richard, a doubloon is my constant gain every day, and sometimes six pistoles;" "himself his own cook, having no spit but a forked stick, no plate but a large chip;" roaming over spurs of the Alleghanies, and along the banks of the Shenandoah; alive to nature, and sometimes "spending the best of the day in admiring the trees and richness of the land;" among skin-clad savages with their scalps and rattles, or uncouth emigrants "that would never speak English;" rarely sleeping in a bed; holding a bear-skin a splendid couch; glad of a resting-place for the night upon a little hay, straw, or fodder, and often camping in the forests, where the place nearest the fire was a happy luxury—this stripling surveyor in the woods, with no companion but his unlettered associates, and no implements of science but his compass and chain, contrasted strangely with the imperial magnificence of the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. And yet God had selected, not Kaunitz nor Newcastle, not a monarch of the house of Hapsburg nor of Hanover, but the Virginia stripling, to give an impulse to human affairs; and, as far as events can depend on an individual, had placed the rights and the destinies of countless millions in the keeping of the widow's son.

END OF THE HISTORY OF THE COLONIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

IN FIVE EPOCHS.

I.—BRITAIN OVERTHROWS THE EUROPEAN COLONIAL SYSTEM.

II.—BRITAIN ESTRANGES AMERICA.

III.—AMERICA TAKES UP ARMS FOR SELF-DEFENCE, AND ARRIVES AT INDEPENDENCE.

IV.—AMERICA IN ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE.

V.—THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA TAKE THEIR EQUAL STATION AMONG THE POWERS OF THE EARTH.

THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

IN FIVE EPOCHS.

EPOCH FIRST.

BRITAIN OVERTHROWS THE EUROPEAN COLONIAL SYSTEM.

FROM 1748 TO 1763.

THE OVERTHROW

OF THE

EUROPEAN COLONIAL SYSTEM.

CHAPTER I.

AMERICA CLAIMS LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE OF ENGLAND. HENRY PELHAM'S ADMINISTRATION.

1748.

In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight, Montesquieu, wisest in his age of the reflecting statesmen of France, apprises the cultivated world that England has founded distant colonies more to extend her commerce than her sovereignty; and "as we love to establish elsewhere that which we find established at home, she will give to the people of her colonies the form of her own government, and this government carrying with itself prosperity, a great people will form itself in the forests that she sent them forth to inhabit." The hereditary dynasties of Europe, all unconscious of the rapid growth of the power of the people, which was soon to bring them under its new and prevailing influence, were negotiating treaties among themselves to close their wars of personal ambition. The great maritime powers, weary of hopes of conquest, desired repose. To restore possessions as they had been, or were to have been, was accepted as the condition of peace; and guarantees were devised to keep them safe against vicissitude. But the eternal flow of existence never rests, bearing the human race onward through continuous change. Principles grow into life in the public mind, and, following each other as they are bidden and without a pause, gain the mas

tery over events. No sooner do the agitated waves begin to subside than, amid the formless tossing of the billows, a new messenger from the Infinite Spirit moves over the waters; and the bark which is freighted with the fortunes of mankind yields to its breath as it first whispers among the shrouds, even while the beholders still doubt if the breeze is springing, and whence it comes, and whither it will go.

The hour of revolution was at hand, promising freedom to conscience and dominion to intelligence. History, escaping from the dictates of authority and the jars of insulated interests, enters upon new and unthought-of domains of culture and equality, the happier society where power springs freshly from ever-renewed consent; the life and activity of a connected world.

For Europe, the crisis foreboded the struggles of generations. The faith and affection which once bound together the separate classes of its civil hierarchy had lost their vigor. In the impending chaos of states, the ancient forms of society, after convulsive agonies, were doomed to be broken in pieces. The voice of reform, as it passed over the desolation, would inspire animation afresh; but conflict of the classes whose power was crushed with the oppressed who knew not that they were redeemed, might awaken wild and insatiable desires. In America, the influences of time were moulded by the creative force of reason, sentiment, and nature; its political edifice rose in lovely proportions, as if to the melodies of the lyre. Calmly, and without crime, humanity was to make for itself a new existence.

A few men of Anglo-Saxon descent, scholars, farmers, planters, and mechanics, with their wives and children, had crossed the Atlantic, in search of freedom and fortune. They brought the civilization which the past had bequeathed to Great Britain; they were followed by the slave-ship and the African; their prosperity invited emigrants from every nationality of central and western Europe; the mercantile system to which they were subjected prevailed in the councils of all metropolitan states, and extended its restrictions to every continent that allured to conquest, commerce, or colonization. The accomplishment of their independence would assert the freedom of

the oceans as commercial highways, and vindicate power in the commonwealth for the self-directing judgment of its people.

The authors of the American revolution avowed for their object the welfare of mankind, and believed that they were in the service of their own and of all future generations. Their faith was just; for the world of mankind does not exist in fragments, nor can a country have an insulated existence. All men are brothers; and all are bondsmen for one another. All nations, too, are brothers; and each is responsible for that federative humanity which puts the ban of exclusion on none. New principles of government could not assert themselves in one hemisphere without affecting the other. The very idea of the progress of an individual people, in its relation to universal history, springs from the acknowledged unity of the race.

From the dawn of social being there has appeared a tendency toward commerce and intercourse between the scattered inhabitants of the earth. That mankind have ever earnestly desired this connection appears from their willing homage to the adventurer, and to every people who greatly enlarge the boundaries of the world, as known to civilization. The traditions of remotest antiquity celebrate the half-divine wanderer who raised pillars on the shores of the Atlantic; and record, as a visitant from the skies, the first traveller from Europe to the rivers of India. It is the glory of Greece that, when she had gathered on her islands and among her hills the scattered beams of human intelligence, her numerous colonies carried the accumulated light to the neighborhood of the ocean and to the shores of the Euxine; her wisdom and her arms connected continents.

When civilization intrenched herself within the beautiful promontory of Italy, and Rome led the van of European reform, the same movement continued, with still vaster results; for, though the military republic gave dominion to property, and extended her own influence by the sword, yet, heaping up conquests, adding island to continent, absorbing nationalities, offering a shrine to strange gods, and citizenship to every vanquished people, she extended over a larger empire the benefits of fixed principles of law, and prepared the way for a universal religion.

To have asserted clearly the unity of mankind was the distinctive character of the Christian religion. No more were the nations to be severed by the worship of exclusive deities. They were taught that all men are of one blood; that for all there is but one divine nature and but one moral law; and the renovating faith which made known the singleness of the race, embodied its aspirations, and guided its advancement. The tribes of Northern Europe, emerging freshly from the wild nurseries of nations, opened new regions to culture, commerce, and refinement. The beams of the majestic temple, which antiquity had reared to its many gods, were already falling in; roving invaders, taking to their hearts the regenerating creed, became its intrepid messengers, and bore its symbols even to Iceland and Siberia.

Still nearer was the period of the connected world, when an enthusiast reformer, glowing with selfish ambition and angry at the hollow forms of idolatry, rose up in the deserts of Arabia, and founded a system of social equality dependent neither on birth nor race nor country. Its emissaries, never diverging widely from the warmer zone, conducted armies from Mecca to the Ganges, where its principle proclaimed the abrogation of castes; and to the Ebro, where it mocked at the worship of images and the superstitions supported by appeals to the senses. How did the two systems animate all the continents of the Old World to combat for the sepulchre of Christ, till Europe, from Spain to Scandinavia, came into conflict and intercourse with the arts as well as the arms of the South and East, from Morocco to Hindostan, leaving the victory to the religion which interposed no indestructible wall of separation between men of differing religious persuasions!

In due time appeared the mariner from Genoa. To Columbus God gave the keys that unlock the barriers of the ocean; so that he filled Christendom with his glory. As he went forth toward the West, ploughing a wave which no European keel had entered, it was his high purpose not merely to open new paths to islands or to continents, but to bring together the ends of the earth, and join all nations in commerce and spiritual life.

While the world of mankind is accomplishing its nearer

connection, it is advancing in the power of its intelligence. The possession of reason is the engagement for that progress of which history keeps the record. The faculties of each individual mind are limited in their development; the reason of the whole strives for perfection, has been restlessly forming itself from the first moment of human existence, and has never met bounds to its capacity for improvement. The generations of men are not like the leaves on the trees, which fall and renew themselves without melioration or change; individuals disappear like the foliage and the flowers; the existence of our kind is continuous, and its ages are reciprocally dependent. Were it not so, there would be no great truths inspiring action, no laws regulating human achievements: the movement of the living world would be as the ebb and flow of the ocean; and the mind would no more be touched by the visible agency of Providence in human affairs. In the lower creation, instinct may more nearly be always equal to itself; yet even there the beaver builds his hut, the bee his cell, with a gradual acquisition of inherited thought and increase of skill. By a more marked prerogative, as Pascal has written, "not only each man advances daily in the sciences, but all men unitedly make a never ceasing progress in them, as the universe grows older; so that the whole succession of human beings, during the course of so many ages, ought to be considered as one identical man, who subsists always, and who learns without end."

It is this idea of continuity which gives vitality to history. No period of time has a separate being; no public opinion can escape the influence of previous intelligence. We are cheered by rays from former centuries, and live in the sunny reflection of all their light. What though thought is invisible, and, even when effective, seems as transient as the wind that drives the cloud! It is yet free and indestructible; can as little be bound in chains as the aspiring flame; and, when once generated, takes eternity for its guardian. We are the children and the heirs of the past, with which, as with the future, we are indissolubly linked together; and he that truly has sympathy with everything belonging to man will, with his toils for posterity, blend affection for the times that are gone by, and seek to live

in the life of the ages. It is by thankfully recognising those ages as a part of the great existence in which we share that history wins power to move the soul; she comes to us with tidings of that which for us still lives, of that which has become the life of our life; she embalms and preserves for us the life-blood not of master-spirits only, but of generations.

And because the idea of improvement belongs to that of continuous being, history is, of all pursuits, the most cheering; it throws a halo of delight and hope even over the sorrows of humanity, and finds promises of joy among the ruins of empires and the graves of nations; it sees the footsteps of Providential Intelligence everywhere, and hears the gentle tones of its voice in the hour of tranquillity.

Nor God alone in the still calm we find;
He mounts the storm and walks upon the wind.

Institutions may crumble and governments fall, but it is only that they may renew a better youth. The petals of the flower wither, that fruit may form. The desire of perfection, springing always from moral power, rules even the sword, and escapes unharmed from the field of carnage; giving to battles all that they can have of lustre, and to warriors their only glory; surviving martyrdoms, and safe amid the wreck of states. On the banks of the stream of time, not a monument has been raised to a hero or a nation but tells the tale and renews the hope of improvement. Each people that has disappeared, every institution that has passed away, has been a step in the ladder by which humanity ascends toward the perfecting of its nature.

And how has it always added to the just judgments of the past the discoveries of successive ages! The generations that hand the torch of truth along the lines of time themselves become dust and ashes; but the light still increases its ever burning flame, and is fed more and more plenteously with consecrated oil. How is progress manifest in religion, from the gross symbols of Egypt and the East to the philosophy of Greece, from the fetichism of the savage to the polytheism of Rome; from the multiplied forms of ancient superstition and the lovely representations of deities in stone, to the clear conception of the unity of divine power and the idea of the presence of God in the soul! How has mind, in its inquisitive

freedom, taught man to employ the elements as mechanics do their tools, and already, in part at least, made him the master and possessor of nature! How has knowledge not only been increased, but diffused! How has morality been constantly tending to subdue the supremacy of brute force, to refine passion, to enrich literature with the varied forms of pure thought and delicate feeling! How has social life been improved, and every variety of toil in the field and in the workshop been ennobled by the willing industry of free men! How has humanity been growing conscious of its unity and watchful of its own development, till public opinion, bursting the bonds of nationality, knows itself to be the combined intelligence of the world, in its movement on the tide of thought from generation to generation!

From the intelligence that had been slowly ripening in the mind of cultivated humanity sprung the American revolution, which organized social union through the establishment of personal freedom, and emancipated the nations from all authority not flowing from themselves. In the old civilization of Europe, power moved from a superior to inferiors and subjects; a priesthood transmitted a common faith, from which it would tolerate no dissent; the government esteemed itself, by compact or by divine right, invested with sovereignty, dispensing protection and demanding allegiance. But a new principle, far mightier than the church and state of the middle ages, was forcing itself into activity. Successions of increasing culture had conquered for mankind the idea of the freedom of the individual; the creative, but long latent, energy that resides in the collective reason was next to be revealed. From this the state was to emerge, like the fabled spirit of beauty and love out of the foam of the ever troubled ocean. It was the office of America to substitute for hereditary privilege the natural equality of man; for the irresponsible authority of a sovereign, a government emanating from the concord of opinion; and, as she moved forward in her high career, the multitudes of every clime gazed toward her example with hopes of untold happiness, and all the nations of the earth learned the way to be renewed.

The American revolution, essaying to unfold the principles

which organized its events, and bound to keep faith with the ashes of its heroes, was most radical in its character, yet achieved with such benign tranquillity that even conservatism hesitated to censure. A civil war armed men of the same ancestry against each other, yet for the advancement of the principles of everlasting peace and universal brotherhood. A new plebeian democracy took its place by the side of the proudest empires. Religion was disenthralled from civil institutions; thought obtained for itself free utterance by speech and by the press; industry was commissioned to follow the bent of its own genius; the system of commercial restrictions between states was reprobated and shattered; and the oceans were enfranchised for every peaceful keel. International law was humanized and softened; and a new, milder, and more just maritime code was concerted and enforced. The trade in slaves was branded and restrained. The language of Bacon and Milton, of Chatham and Washington, became so diffused that, in every zone, and almost in every longitude, childhood lisps the English as its mother tongue. The equality of all men was declared, personal freedom secured in its complete individuality, and common consent recognised as the only just origin of fundamental laws: so that in thirteen separate states, with ample territory for creating more, the inhabitants of each formed their own political institutions. By the side of the principle of the freedom of the individual and the freedom of the separate states, the noblest work of human intellect was consummated in a federal union; and that union put away every motive to its destruction by insuring to each successive generation the right to amend its constitution according to the increasing intelligence of the living people.

Astonishing deeds, throughout the globe, attended these changes: armies fought in the wilderness for rule over the solitudes which were to be the future dwelling-place of millions; navies hunted each other through every sea, engaging in battle now near the region of icebergs, now within the tropics; inventive art was summoned to make war more destructive, and to signalize sieges by new miracles of ability and daring; Africa was, in part, appropriated by rival nations of white men; and, in Asia, an adventurous company of British trad-

ers planted themselves as masters in the empire of the Great Mogul.

For America, the period abounded in new forms of virtue and greatness. Fidelity to principle pervaded the masses; an unorganized people, of their own free will, suspended commerce by universal assent; poverty rejected bribes. Heroism, greater than that of chivalry, burst into action from lowly men; citizens, with their families, fled from their homes and wealth in towns, rather than yield to oppression. Battalions sprung up in a night from spontaneous patriotism; where eminent statesmen hesitated, the instinctive action of the multitude revealed the counsels of magnanimity; youth and genius gave up life freely for the liberties of mankind. A nation without union, without magazines and arsenals, without a treasury, without credit, without government, fought successfully against the whole strength and wealth of Great Britain: an army of veteran soldiers capitulated to insurgent husbandmen.

Europe could not watch with indifference the spectacle. The oldest aristocracy of France, the proudest nobles of Poland, the bravest hearts of Germany, sent their representatives to act as the peers of plebeians, to die gloriously, or to live beloved, as the champions of humanity and freedom; Russia and the northern nations shielded the young republic by an armed neutrality; while the Catholic and feudal monarchies of France and Spain, children of the middle age, were wonderfully swayed to open the gates of futurity to the new empire of democracy: so that, in human affairs, God never showed more visibly his gracious providence and love.

The thirteen colonies, in which was involved the freedom of our race, were feeble settlements in the wilderness, fringing the coast of a continent, little connected with each other, little heeded by their metropolis, almost unknown to the world. They were bound together only as British America, that part of the western hemisphere which the English mind had appropriated. England was the mother of its language, the home of its traditions, the source of its laws, and the land on which its affections centred. And yet it was an offset from England, rather than an integral part of it; an empire of itself, free from nobility and prelacy; not only Protestant, but by a vast

majority dissenting from the church of England; attracting the commoners and plebeian sects of the parent country, and rendered cosmopolitan by recruits from the nations of the European continent. By the benignity of the law, the natives of other lands were received as citizens; and political equality was the talisman that harmoniously blended all their differences, and inspired a new public life, dearer than their mother tongue, their memories, and their kindred. Dutch, French, Scandinavian, and German renounced their nationality, to claim the rights of Englishmen in America.

The extent of those rights, as held by the colonists, had never been precisely ascertained. Of all the forms of civil government of which they had heard or read, no one appeared to them so well suited to preserve liberty, and to secure the advantages of civil society, as the English; and of this happy constitution of the mother country, which it was usual to represent, and almost to adore, as approaching perfection, they held their own to be a copy, with additional privileges not enjoyed by the common people in the old home. The elective franchise was more equally diffused; there were no decayed boroughs, or unrepresented towns; representation, which was universal, conformed more nearly to population; for more than half the inhabitants, their legislative assemblies were chosen annually and by ballot, and the time for convening their legislatures was fixed by a fundamental law; the civil list in every colony but one was voted annually, and annually subjected to scrutiny; municipal liberties and local self-governments were more independent and more extensive; in none of the colonies was there an ecclesiastical court, and in most of them there was no established church or religious test of capacity for office; the cultivator of the soil was, for the most part, a freeholder; in all the continent the people possessed arms, and the able-bodied men were enrolled and trained to their use.

The relations of the colonies to Great Britain, whether to the king or to the parliament, were still more vague and undefined. They were planted under grants from the crown, and, to the last, the king in council was their highest court of appeal; yet, while the court lawyers of the seventeenth century

asserted for the king unlimited legislative authority in the plantations, the colonies set bounds to the royal prerogative, either through charters which the crown had granted, or by the traditionary principles of English liberty, or by the innate energy which, aided by distance, fearlessly assumed self-direction.

The method adopted in England for superintending American affairs, by means of a board of commissioners for trade and plantations who had neither a voice in the deliberation of the cabinet nor access to the king, involved the colonies in ever-increasing confusion. The board framed instructions, without power to enforce them, or to propose measures for their efficiency; it took cognizance of all events, and might investigate, give information, or advise, but it had no authority to decide any political question whatever. In those days two secretaries of state managed the foreign relations of Great Britain. The executive power with regard to the colonies was reserved to the one who had the care of what was called the southern department, which included the Spanish peninsula and France. The board of trade, framed originally to restore the commerce and encourage the fisheries of the mother land, was compelled to hear complaints from the executive officers in America, to issue instructions to them, and to receive and consider all acts of the colonial legislatures; but it had no final responsibility for the system of American policy that might be adopted. Hence, from their very feebleness, the lords of trade were ever impatient of contradiction, easily grew vexed at disobedience to their orders, and inclined to suggest the harshest methods of coercion, knowing that their counsels would slumber in official papers, unless it should touch the pride or waken the resentment of the responsible minister, the crown, and parliament.

The effect of their recommendations would depend on the character and influence of the person who might happen to be the secretary of state for the south. A long course of indecision had multiplied the questions on which the demands and the customs of the colonies were at variance with the maxims of the board of trade.

In April 1724, the seals for the southern department and

the colonies had been intrusted by Sir Robert Walpole to the duke of Newcastle. For nearly four-and-twenty years he remained minister for British America; yet, to the last, knew little of the continent of which he was the guardian. It used to be said that he addressed letters to "the island of New England," and could not tell but that Jamaica was in the Mediterranean. Heaps of colonial memorials and letters remained unread in his office; and a paper was almost sure of neglect, unless some agent remained with him to see it opened. His frivolous nature could never glow with affection, nor grasp a great idea, nor analyze complex relations. After long research, I cannot find that he ever once attended seriously to an American question.

The power of the house of commons in Great Britain rested on its exclusive right to grant annually the supplies necessary for carrying on the government, thus securing an ever-recurring opportunity for demanding the redress of wrongs. In like manner, the strength of the people in America consisted in the exclusive right of its assemblies to levy and to appropriate colonial taxes. In England, the king obtained a civil list for life; in America, the rapacity of the governors made it expedient to keep them dependent for their salaries on annual grants, of which the amount was regulated, from year to year, by a consideration of the merits of the officer, as well as the opulence of the province. It was easy for a governor to obtain instructions to demand peremptorily a large, settled, and permanent support; but the assemblies treated instructions as binding executive officers only, and claimed an uncontrolled freedom of deliberation and decision. To remove the inconsistency, the king must pay his officers from an independent fund, or change his orders. Newcastle did neither; he continued the instructions, and privately consented to their being slighted. Having the patronage of a continent, he would gratify his connections in the aristocratic families of England by intrusting the royal prerogative to men of broken fortunes, dissolute and ignorant, too vile to be employed near home; so that America became the hospital of Great Britain for decayed members of parliament and dissolute courtiers, whose conduct was sure to provoke distrust and to justify opposition. But

he was satisfied with distributing to them offices; and, for their salaries, abandoned them to the annual deliberations of the colonial legislatures. Standing between the lords of trade who framed instructions, and the cabinet which alone could propose measures to enforce them, he served as a non-conductor to the angry zeal of the former, whose places, under such a secretary, became more and more nearly sinecures; while America, neglected in England, and rightly resisting her deputed rulers, went on her way rejoicing toward freedom and independence.

Disputes accumulated with every year; but Newcastle temporized to the last; and, in February 1748, on the resignation of the earl of Chesterfield, he escaped from the embarrassments of American affairs by taking the seals for the northern department. Those of the southern were intrusted to the duke of Bedford.

The new secretary was "a man of inflexible honesty and good-will to his country," "untainted by duplicity or timidity." His abilities were not brilliant, but his rank and fortune gave him political consideration. In 1744, he had entered the Pelham ministry as first lord of the admiralty, bringing with him to that board George Grenville and the earl of Sandwich. In that station, his orders to Warren contributed to the conquest of Louisburg. In the last war he had cherished "the darling project" of conquering Canada, and "the great and practicable views for America" were said by Pitt to have "sprung from him alone." Proud of his knowledge of trade, and his ability to speak readily, he entered without distrust on the administration of a continent.

Of the two dukes, who, at this epoch of the culminating power of the aristocracy, guided the external policy of England, each hastened the independence of America. Newcastle, who was childless, depended on office for all his pleasure; Bedford, though sometimes fond of place, was too proud to covet it always. Newcastle had no passion but business, which he conducted in a fretful hurry, and never finished; the graver Bedford, though fond of "theatricals and jollity," was yet capable of persevering in a system. Newcastle was of "so fickle a head and so treacherous a heart" that Walpole called his "name Perfidy;" Henry Fox, the first Lord Holland, said "he

had no friends, and deserved none;" and Lord Halifax used to revile him as "a knave and a fool;" he was too unstable to be led by others, and, from his own instinct about majorities, shifted his sails as the wind shifted. Bedford, who was bold and unbending and would do nothing but what he himself thought "indisputably right," was "always governed," and was "immeasurably obstinate in an opinion once received," being "the most ungovernable governed man in England," and the most faithful to the "bandits" who formed his political connection. Neither was cruel or revengeful; but, while the one "had no rancor or ill-nature," and no enmities but freaks of petulance, the other carried decision into his attachments and his feuds. Newcastle lavished promises, familiar caresses, tears and kisses and cringing professions of regard, with prodigal hypocrisy; Bedford knew no wiles, was blunt, unabashed, and, without being aware of it, rudely impetuous, even in the presence of his sovereign. Newcastle was jealous of rivals; Bedford was impatient of contradiction. Newcastle, timorous without caution and arbitrary from thoughtlessness, rushed into difficulties which he evaded by indecision; the positive Bedford, energetic without sagacity, and stubborn with but a narrow range of thought, scorned to shun deciding any question that might arise, grew choleric at resistance, could not or would not foresee obstacles, and was known throughout America as ready at all hazards to vindicate authority.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROYAL GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK APPEALS TO THE PARAMOUNT POWER OF BRITAIN. HENRY PELHAM'S ADMINISTRATION.

1748–1749.

In July 1748, no fortress in the Highlands as yet kept watch over the infrequent bark that spread its sails to the froward summer breeze. The dense forests, which came down the hillsides to the edges of the river, were but rarely broken by openings round the houses of a thinly scattered tenantry, and by the solitary mansions of the few proprietaries, who, under lavish grants, claimed manors of undefined extent, and even whole counties for their inheritance. Through these scenes, George Clinton, an unlettered British admiral, who, being connected with both Newcastle and Bedford, had been sent to America to mend his fortunes as governor of New York, was making his way toward Albany, where the friendship of the Six Nations was to be confirmed by a treaty of their chiefs with commissioners from several colonies, and the encroachments of France were to be circumscribed by a concert for defence.

As his barge emerged from the Highlands, it neared the western bank to receive on board Cadwallader Colden, the oldest member of the royal council. How often had the governor and his advisers joined in deploring "the levelling principles of the people of New York and the neighboring colonies;" "the tendencies of American legislatures to independence;" their unwarrantable presumption in "declaring their own rights and privileges;" their ambitious efforts "to wrest the administration from the king's officers," by refusing fixed salaries and compelling the respective governors to an-

nual capitulations for their support! How had they conspired to dissuade the English government from countenancing the opulent James Delancey, then chief justice of the province and the leader of the opposition! "The inhabitants of the plantations," they reiterated to one another and to the ministry, "are generally educated in republican principles; upon republican principles all is conducted. Little more than a shadow of royal authority remains in the northern colonies." Very recently the importunities of Clinton had offered the duke of Newcastle "the dilemma of supporting the governor's authority, or relinquishing power to a popular faction." "It will be impossible," said one of his letters, which was then before the king, "to secure this province from the enemy, or from a faction within it, without the assistance of regular troops, two thousand men at least. There never was so much silver in the country as at present, and the inhabitants never were so expensive in their habits of life. They, with the southern colonies, can well discharge this expense."

The party of royalists who had devised the congress, as subsidiary to the war between France and England, were overtaken by the news that in April preliminaries of peace had been signed by the European belligerents; and they eagerly seized the opportunity of returning tranquillity to form plans for governing and taxing the colonies by the supreme authority of Great Britain. A colonial revenue, through British interposition, was desired for the common defence of America, and to defray the civil list in the respective provinces. Could an independent income be obtained for either of these purposes, it might, by degrees, be applied to both.

To the convention in Albany came William Shirley, already for seven years governor of Massachusetts; an English lawyer, artful, needy, and ambitious; a member of the church of England; indifferent to the laws and the faith of the people whom he governed, appointed originally to restore or introduce British authority, and more relied upon than any crown officer in America. With him appeared Andrew Oliver and Thomas Hutchinson, both natives and residents of Boston, as commissioners from Massachusetts. Oliver, bred at

Harvard college, joined solid learning to a good knowledge of the affairs of the province, and could write well. Distinguished for sobriety of conduct and the forms of piety, he enjoyed public confidence; but at heart he was ruled by the love of money; and, having diminished his patrimony by unsuccessful traffic, was greedy of office.

The complaisant, cultivated, and truly intelligent Hutchinson was now speaker of the house of assembly in Massachusetts; the most plausible, able, and ambitious man in that colony. Loving praise himself, he soothed with blandishments any one who bade fair to advance his ends. To the Congregational clergy he paid assiduous deference; but his formally pious life, and unfailing attendance "at meeting," were little more than a continuous flattery. He shunned uttering a direct falsehood, but did not scruple to equivocate and to deceive. He courted the people, but, from boyhood, disliked them, and used their favor only as steps to promotion. Though well educated, and of uncommon endowments, and famed at college as of great promise, he became a trader in his native town, and, like others, smuggled goods, which he sold at retail. Failing of profits, he withdrew from mercantile pursuits; but to gain property remained the most ardent desire of his soul. He had been in England as agent of Massachusetts at the time when taxing America by parliament first began to be talked of, and had thus become acquainted with British statesmen, the maxims of the board of trade, and the way in which Englishmen reasoned about the colonies. He loved the land of his nativity, and made a study of its laws and history; but he knew that all considerable emoluments of office sprung not from his frugal countrymen, but from royal favor. He had clear discernment, and, where unbiassed by his own interests, he preferred to do what was right; but his sordid nature led him to worship power; he could stoop to solicit justice as a boon; and a small temptation would easily sway him to become the instrument of oppression. At the same time he excelled in dissimulation, and knew how to veil his selfishness under the appearance of public spirit.

The congress at Albany was thronged beyond example by the chiefs of the Six Nations and their allies. They re-

solved to have no French within their borders, nor even to send deputies to Canada, but to leave to English mediation the recovery of their brethren from captivity. It was announced that tribes of the far West, dwelling on branches of Erie and the Ohio, inclined to friendship; and, nearly at that moment, envoys from their villages were at Lancaster, solemnizing a treaty of commerce with Pennsylvania. Returning peace was hailed as the happy moment for bringing the Miamis and their neighbors within the covenant chain of the English, and thus extending British jurisdiction to the Wabash.

The lighted calumet had been passed from mouth to mouth; the graves of the red heroes, slain in war, had been covered with expiating presents; wampum belts of confirmed love had been exchanged—when the commissioners of Massachusetts, adopting the opinions and almost the language of Clinton and Shirley, represented to them, in a memorial, that, as Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New York were the barrier of America against the French, the charge of defending their frontiers ought as little to rest on those provinces as the charge of defending any counties in Great Britain on such counties alone; that the other governments had been invited to join in concerting measures, but all, excepting Connecticut, had declined; they therefore urged an application to the king, that the remoter colonies, which were not immediately exposed, might be obliged to contribute in a just proportion toward the expense of protecting the inland territories of New England and New York. The two governors, as, in August, they forwarded the paper to the board of trade, subjoined: "We agree with the memorialists."

The haste or the negligence of the British plenipotentiaries at Aix-la-Chapelle had determined their boundary in America along its whole line, only by the vague agreement that it should be as it had been before the war; and for a quarter of a century before the war it had never ceased to be a subject of altercation. In this condition of an accepted treaty of peace and an unsettled limit of jurisdiction, each party hurried to occupy in advance as much territory as possible without too openly compromising their respective governments. Acadia, according to its ancient boundaries, belonged to Great

Britain; but France had always, even in times of peace, declared that Acadia included only the peninsula; before the restoration of Cape Breton, an officer from Canada occupied the isthmus between Bay Verte and the Bay of Fundy; a small colony kept possession of the mouth of the St. John's river; and the claim as far west as the Kennebec had never been abandoned.

At the West, France had uniformly claimed the whole basin of the St. Lawrence and of the Mississippi; and, in proof of its rightful possession, pointed to its castles at Crown Point, at Niagara, among the Miamis, and in Louisiana. Ever regarding the friendship of the Six Nations as a bulwark essential to security, La Galissonière, the governor-general of Canada, treated them as the allies of the French no less than of the English; and, still further to secure their affections, the self-devoted Abbé Francis Picquet occupied by a mission Oswegatchie, now Ogdensburg, at the head of the rapids, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence. For the more distant regions, orders were sent, in October, to the commandant at Detroit, to oppose by force every English establishment on the Maumee, the Wabash, and the Ohio; or, if his strength was insufficient, to summon the intruder to depart under highest perils for disobedience.

Plausible reasons, therefore, existed for the memorial of Hutchinson and Oliver; but the more cherished purpose of those who directed this congress at Albany was the secure enjoyment of the emoluments of office, without responsibility to the respective American provinces. "From past experiments," added Clinton and Shirley, jointly, as they forwarded the ostensibly innocent petition, "we are convinced that the colonies will never agree on quotas, which must therefore be settled by royal instructions; and there has been so little regard paid in several colonies to the royal instructions that it is requisite to think of some method to enforce them."

How to reduce a factious colony had already been settled by the great masters of English jurisprudence. Two systems of government had long been at variance: the one founded on prerogative, the other on the supremacy of parliament. The first opinion had been professed by many of the earlier lawyers,

who considered the colonies as dependent on the crown alone. Even after the revolution, the chief justice at New York, in 1702, declared that "in the plantations the king governs by his prerogative;" and Sir John Holt had said, "Virginia being a conquered country, their law is what the king pleases." But when, in 1711, New York, during the administration of Hunter, was left without a revenue, the high powers of parliament were the resource of the ministers; and they prepared a bill, reciting the neglect of the province, and imposing all the taxes which had been discontinued by its legislature. Northey and Raymond, the attorney and the solicitor general, lawyers of the greatest authority, approved the measure. When, in 1724, a similar strife occurred between the crown and Jamaica, and some held that the king and his privy council had a right to levy taxes on the inhabitants of that island, the crown lawyers, Lord Hardwicke, then Sir Philip Yorke, and Sir Clement Wearg, made the memorable reply, that "a colony of English subjects cannot be taxed but by some representative body of their own, or by the parliament of England." That opinion impressed itself early and deeply on the mind of Lord Mansfield, and, in October 1744, when the neglect of Pennsylvania to render aid in the war had engaged the attention of the ministry, Sir Dudley Ryder and Lord Mansfield, then William Murray, declared that "a colonial assembly cannot be compelled to do more toward their own defence than they shall see fit, unless by the force of an act of parliament, which alone can prescribe rules of conduct for them." Away, then, with all attempts to compel by prerogative, to govern by instructions, to obtain a revenue by royal requisitions, to fix quotas by a council of crown officers! No power but that of parliament can overrule the colonial assemblies.

Such was the doctrine of Murray, who was himself able to defend his system, being unrivalled in debate except by William Pitt. The advice of this illustrious jurist was the more authoritative because he "had long known the Americans." "I began life with them," said he, on a later occasion, "and owe much to them, having been much concerned in the plantation causes before the privy council. So I became a good deal acquainted with American affairs and people." During

the discussions that are now to be related, he was often consulted by the agents of the American royalists. His opinion, coinciding with that of Hardwicke, was applauded by the board of trade, and became the corner-stone of British policy.

On this theory of parliamentary supremacy Shirley and his associates placed their reliance. Under his advice it was secretly resolved to bring the disputes between governors and American assemblies to a crisis; the return of peace was selected as the epoch for the experiment; elaborate documents prepared the ministry for the struggle; and Clinton was to extort from the colonial legislature fixed salaries and revenues at the royal disposition, or, by producing extreme disorder, to compel the interposition of the parliament of Great Britain.

To the assembly which met in October 1748, Clinton, faithful to his engagements, and choosing New York as the opening scene in the final contest that led to independence, declared that the methods adopted for colonial supplies "made it his indispensable duty at the first opportunity to put a stop to these innovations;" and he demanded, what had so often been refused, the grant of a revenue to the king for at least five years. The assembly, in reply, insisted on naming in their grants the incumbent of each office. "From recent experience," they continue, "we are fully convinced that the method of an annual support is most wholesome and salutary, and are confirmed in the opinion that the faithful representatives of the people will never depart from it." Warning them of the anger of "parliament," Clinton prorogued the assembly; and, in floods of letters and documents, represented to the secretary of state that its members "had set up the people as the high court of American appeal;" that "they claimed all the powers and privileges of parliament;" that they "virtually assumed all the public money into their own hands, and issued it without warrant from the governor;" that "they took to themselves the sole power of rewarding all services, and, in effect, the nomination to all offices, by granting the salary annually not to the office, but, by name, to the person in the office;" that the system, "if not speedily remedied, would affect the dependency of the colonies on the crown." And he entreated the king to "make a good example for all America by regulat-

ing the government of New York." "Till then," he added, "I cannot meet the assembly without danger of exposing the king's authority and myself to contempt."

Thus issue was joined with a view to involve the British parliament in the administration of the colonies just at the time when Bedford, as the secretary, was resolving to introduce uniformity into their administration by supporting the authority of the central government; and his character was a guarantee for resolute perseverance. "Considering the present situation of things," he had declared to Newcastle, "it would be highly improper to have an inefficient man at the head of the board of trade;" and, at his suggestion, on the first day of November 1748, two months after the peace of America and Europe had been ratified, the earl of Halifax, then just thirty-two years old, entered upon his long period of service as first commissioner for the plantations. He was fond of splendor, profuse, and in debt; passionate, overbearing, and self-willed; "of moderate sense, and ignorant of the world." Familiar with a feeble class of belles-lettres, he loved to declaim long passages from Prior; but his mind had not been trained by severer studies. As a public man, he was without sagacity, yet unwilling to defer to any one. Resolved to elevate himself by enlarging the dignity and power of his employment, he devoted himself to the business of the plantations, confiding in his ability to master their affairs almost by intuition, writing his own despatches, and, with the undoubting self-reliance of a presumptuous novice, ready to advance fixed opinions and plans of action. The condition of the continent, whose affairs he was to superintend, seemed to invite his immediate activity, alike to secure the possessions of Great Britain against France, and to maintain the authority of the central government against the colonies themselves.

As he read the papers which had accumulated in the board of trade, and the despatches which time-serving subordinates were sending in as fast as the change in the spirit of the administration became known, the colonies seemed, from the irresolution of his predecessors, tending to legislative independence and rebellion. "Here," wrote Glen, the governor of South Carolina, "levelling principles prevail; the frame

of the civil government is unhinged; a governor, if he would be idolized, must betray his trust; the people have got the whole administration in their hands; the election of members to the assembly is by ballot; not civil posts only, but all ecclesiastical preferments, are in the disposal or election of the people; to preserve the dependence of America in general, the constitution must be new modelled."

In North Carolina no law for collecting quit-rents had been perfected, and its frugal people, whom their governor reported as "wild and barbarous," paid the servants of the crown scantily and tardily.

In Virginia—the land of light taxes and freedom from paper money, long famed for its loyalty, where the people had nearly doubled in twenty-one years, and a revenue granted in perpetuity, with a fixed quit-rent, put aside the usual sources of colonial strife—the insurgent spirit of freedom invaded the royal authority in the established church; and, in 1748, just as Sherlock, the new bishop of London, was interceding with the king for an American episcopate which Bedford and Halifax both favored as essential to royal authority, Virginia, with the consent of Gooch, its lieutenant-governor, transferred by law the patronage of all the livings to the vestries. The act was included among the revised laws, and met with the king's approbation; but, from the time that its purpose was perceived, Sherlock became persuaded that "Virginia, formerly an orderly province, had nothing more at heart than to lessen the influence of the crown."

Letters from Pennsylvania warned the ministers that, as the "obstinate, wrong-headed assembly of Quakers" in that province "pretended not to be accountable to his majesty or his government," they "might in time apply the public money to purposes injurious to the crown and the mother country."

But nowhere did popular power seem so deeply or dangerously seated as in New England, where every village was a self-constituted democracy, whose organization had received the sanction of law and the confirmation of the king. Especially Boston, whose people had liberated its citizen mariners when impressed by a British admiral in their harbor, was

accused of "a rebellious insurrection." "The chief cause," said Shirley, "of the mobbish turn of a town inhabited by twenty thousand persons is its constitution, by which the management of it devolves on the populace, assembled in their town-meetings."

With the assembly which represented the towns of Massachusetts the wary barrister declined a rupture. When, in November, the legislature of that province, jealous from a true instinct, reduced his salary one third on the plea of public distress, he answered, plausibly, that the province had doubled its population within twenty years; had in that time organized within its limits five-and-twenty new towns; and, at the close of the long war, was less in debt than at its beginning. But his hopes of sure emoluments rested in England, and were connected with the success of the applications from New York.

The conspiracy against the colonies extended to New Jersey. In December, the council of that province found it "their indispensable duty to represent to his majesty the growing rebellion in their province." The conflict for lands in its eastern moiety, where Indian title-deeds, confirmed by long occupation, were pleaded against grants of an English king, led to confusion which the rules of the English law could not remedy. The people of whole counties could not be driven from their homesteads or imprisoned in jails; Belcher, the temporizing governor, confessed that "he could not bring the delegates into measures for suppressing the wicked spirit of rebellion." The proprietors, who had purchased the long-dormant claim to a large part of the province, made common cause with men in office, invoked British interposition, and accused their opponents of treasonably denying the king's title to New Jersey. These appeals were to "tally with and accredit the representation from New York."

From the first moment of his employment, Halifax stood forth the busy champion of the royal authority; and, in December 1748, his earliest official words of any import promised "a very serious consideration on" what he called "the just prerogatives of the crown, and those defects of the constitution" which had "spread themselves over many of

the plantations, and were destructive of all order and government;" and he resolved on instantly effecting a thorough change, by the agency of parliament. While awaiting its meeting, the menaced encroachments of France equally claimed his attention; and he determined to secure Nova Scotia and the Ohio valley.

The region beyond the Alleghanies had as yet no English settlement, except, perhaps, a few scattered cabins in western Virginia. The Indians south of lake Erie and in the Ohio valley were, in the recent war, friendly to the English, and were united to Pennsylvania by a treaty of commerce. The traders, chiefly from Pennsylvania, who strolled from tribe to tribe, were without fixed places of abode, but drew many Indians over the lake to trade in skins and furs. The colony of New York, through the Six Nations, might command the Canadian passes to the Ohio valley; the grant to William Penn actually included a part of it; but Virginia claimed to bound its dominion on the north-west by Lake Erie. To secure Ohio for the English world, Lawrence Washington, of Virginia, Augustus Washington, and their associates, proposed a colony beyond the Alleghanies. "The country west of the great mountains is the centre of the British dominions," wrote Halifax and his colleagues, who were inflamed with the hope of recovering it by some sort of occupation; and the favor of Henry Pelham, the first lord of the treasury, with the renewed instance of the board of trade, obtained, in March 1749, the king's instructions to the governor of Virginia to grant to John Hanbury and his associates in Maryland and Virginia five hundred thousand acres of land between the Monongahela and the Kanawha, or on the northern margin of the Ohio. The company were to pay no quit-rent for ten years, within seven years to colonize at least one hundred families, to select immediately two fifths of their territory, and at their own cost to build and garrison a fort. Thomas Lee, president of the council of Virginia, and Robert Dinwiddie, a native of Scotland, surveyor-general for the southern colonies, were shareholders.

Aware of these designs, France anticipated England. In 1749, La Galissonière, revolving great designs of French em

pire in America, sent Celoron de Bienville, with three hundred men, to the valley of the Ohio. On its southern bank, opposite the point of an island, and near the junction of a river, that officer buried, at the foot of a primeval red-oak, a plate of lead with the inscription that the country belonged to France; and he nailed the lilies of the Bourbons to a forest tree, in token of possession. "I am going down the river," said he to Indians at Logstown, "to scourge home our children, the Miamis and the Wyandots;" and he forbade all trading with the English. "The lands are ours," replied the Indians; and they claimed freedom of commerce. The French emissary proceeded to the towns of the Miamis, expelled the English traders, and by letter requested Hamilton, the governor of Pennsylvania, to prevent all further intrusion. But the Indians murmured, as he buried plates at the mouth of every remarkable creek. "We know," they said, "it is done to steal our country from us;" and they resolved to "go to the Onondaga council" for protection.

On the north-east, the well-informed La Galissonière took advantage of the gentle and unsuspecting character of the French Acadians, and of the doubt that existed respecting occupancy and ancient titles. In 1710, when Port Royal, now Annapolis, was vacated, the fort near the mouth of the St. John's remained to France. The English had no settlement on that river; and though they had, on appeal to their tribunals, exercised some sort of jurisdiction, it had not been clearly recognised by the few inhabitants, and had always been denied by the French government. It began to be insinuated that the ceded Acadia was but a part of the peninsula lying upon the sea between Cape Fourches and Cape Canso. The Abbé La Loutre, missionary and curate of Messagouche, now Fort Lawrence, which is within the peninsula, formed the plan, with the aid of La Galissonière and the court of France, to entice the Acadians from their ancient dwelling-places, and plant them on the frontier as a barrier against the English.

But, even before the peace, Shirley had represented that the inhabitants near the isthmus, being French and Catholic, should be removed into some other of the British colonies, and that Protestant settlers should occupy their lands. From

this atrocious proposal, Newcastle, who was cruel only from frivolity, did not withhold his approbation; but Bedford, his more humane successor, sought to secure the entire obedience of the French inhabitants by intermixing with them colonists of English descent.

The execution of this design, which the duke of Cumberland, Pelham, and Henry Fox assisted in maturing, devolved on Halifax. Invitations went through Europe to invite Protestants from the continent to emigrate to the British colonies. The good-will of New England was encouraged by care for its fisheries; and American whalemen, stimulated by the promise of an equal bounty with the British, learned to follow their game among the icebergs of the Greenland seas. But the main burden of securing Nova Scotia fell on the British treasury. While the general court of Massachusetts, through their agent in England, sought to prevent the French from possessing any harbor whatever in the Bay of Fundy, or west of it on the Atlantic, proposals were made, in March 1749, to disbanded officers and soldiers and marines, to accept and occupy lands in Acadia; and, before the end of June, more than fourteen hundred persons, under the auspices of the British parliament, were conducted by Colonel Edward Cornwallis into Chebucto harbor. There, on a cold and sterile soil, covered to the water's edge with one continued forest of spruce and pine, whose thick underwood and gloomy shade hid rocks and the rudest wilds, with no clear spot to be seen or heard of, rose the first town of English origin east of the Penobscot. From the minister who imparted efficiency to the enterprise, it took the name of Halifax. Before winter three hundred houses were covered in. At Minas, now Lower Horton, a block-house was raised, and fortified by a trench and a palisade; a fort at Pesaquid, now Windsor, protected the communications with Halifax. These, with Annapolis on the Bay of Fundy, secured the peninsula.

The ancient inhabitants had, in 1730, taken an oath of fidelity to the English king, as sovereign of Acadia; and were promised indulgence in "the exercise of their religion, and exemption from bearing arms against the French or Indians." They were known as the French Neutrals. Their hearts were

still with France, and their religion made them a part of the diocese of Quebec. Of a sudden it was proclaimed to their deputies convened at Halifax that English commissioners would repair to their villages, and tender to them, unconditionally, the oath of allegiance. They could not pledge themselves before Heaven to join in war against the land of their origin and their love; and, in a letter signed by a thousand of their men, they pleaded rather for leave to sell their lands and effects, and abandon the peninsula for new homes, which France would provide. But Cornwallis would offer no option but between unconditional allegiance and the confiscation of all their property. "It is for me," said he, "to command and to be obeyed;" and he looked to the board of trade for further instructions.

With the Micmac Indians, who, at the instigation of La Loutre, the missionary, united with other tribes to harass the infant settlements, the English governor dealt still more summarily. "The land on which you sleep is mine:" such was the message of the implacable tribe; "I sprung out of it, as the grass does; I was born on it from sire to son; it is mine forever." So the council at Halifax voted all the poor red men that dwelt in the peninsula to be "so many banditti, ruffians, or rebels;" and, by its authority, Cornwallis, "to bring the rascals to reason," offered for every one of them, "taken or killed," ten guineas, to be paid on producing the savage or "his scalp." But the source of this disorder was the undefined state of possession between the European competitors for North America.

Meantime, La Galissonière, having surrended his government to the more pacific La Jonquière, repaired to France, to be employed on the commission for adjusting the American boundaries. La Jonquière saw the imminent danger of a new war, and, like Bedford, would have shunned hostilities; but his instructions from the French ministry, although they did not require advances beyond the isthmus, compelled him to attempt confining the English within the peninsula of Acadia.

Thus, while France, with the unity of a despotic central power, was employing all its strength in Canada to make good its claims to an extended frontier, Halifax signalized his coming

into office by planting Protestant emigrants in Nova Scotia, as a barrier against encroachments on the north-east; and by granting lands for a Virginia occupation of both banks of the Ohio. With still greater impetuosity, he rushed toward a solution of the accumulated difficulties in the administration of the colonies.

The board of trade, so soon as Halifax had become its head, revived and earnestly promoted the scheme of strengthening the authority of the prerogative by a general act of the British parliament. At its instance, on the third day of March 1749, under the pretext of suppressing the flagrant evils of colonial paper money, the disappointed Horatio Walpole, who for nearly thirty years had not always successfully struggled, as auditor-general of the colonies, to gain a sinecure allowance of five per cent on all colonial revenues, reported a bill to overrule charters, and to make all orders by the king, or under his authority, the highest law of America. In the reign of Henry VIII., parliament, surrendering only the liberties of its own constituents, sanctioned "what a king, by his royal power, might do;" and gave the energy of law to his proclamations and ordinances. Halifax and his board invited the British parliament to sequester the liberties of other communities, and transfer them to the British crown.

The people of Connecticut, through their agent, Eliakim Palmer, protested against "the unusual and extraordinary" attempt, "so repugnant to the laws and constitution" of Great Britain, and to their own "inestimable privileges" and charter, "of being governed by laws of their own making." By their birthright, by the perils of their ancestors, by the sanctity of royal faith, by their own affectionate duty and zeal, and devotion of their lives and fortunes to their king and country, they remonstrated against the bill. Pennsylvania and Rhode Island pleaded their patents, and reminded parliament of the tribute already levied on them by the monopoly of their commerce. For Massachusetts, William Bollan, through "the very good-natured Lord Baltimore," represented that the bill virtually included all future orders of all future princes, however repugnant they might be to the constitution of Great Britain, or of the colonies; thus abrogating for the

people of Massachusetts their common rights as Englishmen, not less than their charter privileges. The agent of South Carolina cautiously intimated that, as obedience to instructions was already due from the governors, whose commissions depended on the royal pleasure, the deliberative rights of the assemblies were the only colonial safeguard against unlimited authority.

"Venerating the British constitution, as established at the revolution," Onslow, the speaker of the house of commons, believed that parliament had power to tax America, but not to delegate that power; and, by his order, the objections to the proposed measure were spread at length on the journal. The board of trade wavered, and in April consented, reluctantly, "to drop for the present and reserve" the clauses; but it continued to cherish the spirit that dictated them, till it ceased to exist.

At the same time Massachusetts was removing every motive to interfere with its currency by abolishing its paper money. That province had demanded, as a right, the reimbursement of its expenses for the capture of Louisburg. Its claim, as of right, was denied; for its people, it was said, were the subjects, and not the allies, of England; but the requisite appropriation was made by the equity of parliament. Massachusetts had already, in January 1749, after an eventful struggle, voted that its public notes should be redeemed with the expected remittances from the royal exchequer. Twice in the preceding year it had invited a convention of the neighboring colonies to suppress jointly the fatal paper currency; but, finding concert impossible, it proceeded alone. As the bills had depreciated, and were no longer in the hands of the first holders, it was insisted that to redeem them at their original value would impose a new tax on the first holders themselves; and, therefore, forty-five shillings of the old tenor, or eleven shillings and threepence of the new emission, were, with the approbation of the king in council, redeemed by a Spanish milled dollar. Thus Massachusetts became the "hard-money colony" of the North.

The plan for enforcing all royal orders in America by the act of the British parliament had hardly been abandoned when

the loyalty and vigilance of Massachusetts were perverted to further the intrigues against its liberty. In April 1749, its assembly, which held that Nova Scotia included all the continent east of New England, represented to the king "the insolent intrusions" of France on their territory, advised that "the neighboring provinces should be informed of the common danger," and begged "that no breach might be made in any of the territories of the crown on the" American "continent." On transmitting this address Shirley developed his system. To the duke of Bedford he recommended the erecting and garrisoning of frontier "fortresses, under the direction of the king's engineers and officers." "A tax for their maintenance," he urged, "should be laid by parliament upon the colonies, without which it will not be done." From the prosperous condition of America, he argued that "making the British subjects on this continent contribute toward their common security could not be thought laying a burden;" and he cited the acts of trade, and the duty laid on foreign sugars imported into the northern colonies, as precedents that established the reasonableness of his proposal.

Shirley's associates in New York were equally persevering. The seventh day of May 1749, brought to them "the agreeable news that all went flowingly on" as they had desired. Knowing that Bedford, Dorset, and Halifax had espoused their cause, they convened the legislature; but it was in vain. "The faithful representatives of the people," thus spoke the assembly of New York in July, "can never recede from the method of an annual support." "I know well," rejoined the governor, "the present sentiments of his majesty's ministers; and you might have guessed at them by the bill lately brought into parliament for enforcing the king's instructions. Consider," he adds, "the great liberties you are indulged with. Consider, likewise, what may be the consequences should our mother country suspect that you design to lessen the prerogative of the crown in the plantations. The Romans did not allow the same privileges to their colonies which the other citizens enjoyed; and you know in what manner the republic of Holland governs her colonies. Endeavor, then, to show your great thankfulness for the great privileges you enjoy."

The representatives adhered unanimously to their resolutions, pleading that "governors are generally entire strangers to the people they are sent to govern; they seldom regard the welfare of the people otherwise than as they can make it subservient to their own particular interest; and, as they know the time of their continuance in their governments to be uncertain, all methods are used, and all engines set to work, to raise estates to themselves. Should the public moneys be left to their disposition, what can be expected but the grossest misapplication, under various pretences, which will never be wanting?" To this unanimity the governor could only oppose his determination "most earnestly" to invoke the attention of the ministry and the king to "their proceedings;" and he prorogued and then dissolved the assembly.

To make the appeal to the ministry more effective, Shirley, who had obtained leave to go to England, and whose success in every point was believed to be certain, before embarking received from Colden an elaborate argument, in which revenue to the crown, independent of the American people, was urged as indispensable; and, to obtain it, "the most prudent method," it was insisted, "would be by application to parliament."

But, before Shirley arrived in Europe, the ministry was already won to his designs. On the first day of June, the board of trade had been recruited by a young man gifted with "a thousand talents," the daring and indefatigable Charles Townshend. A younger son of Lord Townshend, ambitious, capable of unwearied labor, bold, and somewhat extravagant in his style of eloquence, yet surpassed as a debater only by Murray and Pitt, he was introduced to office through the commission for the colonies. His restless ability obtained sway at the board; Halifax cherished him as a favorite; and the parliament soon looked to him as "the greatest master of American affairs."

How to regulate charters and colonial governments, and provide an American civil list independent of American legislatures, was the earliest as well as the latest political problem which he attempted to solve. At that time, Murray, as crown lawyer, ruled the cabinet on questions of legal right; Dorset,

the father of Lord George Germain, was president of the council; Lyttelton and George Grenville were of the treasury board; and Sandwich, raised by his hold on the duke of Bedford, presided at the admiralty; Halifax, Charles Townshend, and their colleagues, were busy with remodelling American constitutions; while Bedford, as secretary of state for the southern department, was the organ of communication between the board of trade and the crown.

These are the men who proposed to reconcile the discrepancy between the legal pretensions of the metropolis and the actual condition of the colonies. In vain did they resolve to fashion America into new modes of being. The infant republics were not like marble from the quarry, which the artist may shape according to his design; they resembled living plants, which obey an indwelling necessity without consciousness of will, and unfold simultaneously their whole existence and the rudiments of all their parts, harmonious, beautiful, and complete in every period of their growth.

These British American colonies were the best trophy of modern civilization; on them, for the next forty years, rests the chief interest in the history of man.

CHAPTER III.

THE EXPLORATION OF OHIO. HENRY PELHAM'S ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED.

1749–1751.

On the twelfth of July 1749, the ministers of state assembled at the board of trade, and deliberated, from seven in the evening till one the next morning, on the political aspect of the plantations. The opinions of Sir Dudley Ryder and William Murray were before them. They agreed that "all accounts concurred in representing New Jersey as in a state of disobedience to law and government, attended with circumstances which manifested a disposition to revolt from dependence on the crown. While the governor was so absolutely dependent on the assembly, order could not possibly be restored." And they avowed as their "fundamental" rule of American government, that the colonial officers of the king should have "some appointment from home."

"Drink Lord Halifax in a bumper," were the words of Clinton as he read his letters from England. The duke of Bedford promised vigorous support in maintaining the king's delegated authority; and for the rest of his life remained true to his promise, not knowing that he was the dupe of profligate cupidity.

In a document designed for the eye of Halifax, Colden hastened to confirm the purpose. Of popular sway "the increase in the northern colonies was immeasurable." Royalty would have in New York but "the outward appearance" of authority, till a governor and "proper judges" should receive "independent salaries." "I do not imagine," he wrote, in November 1749, "that any assembly will be induced to give up

the power, of which they are all so fond, by granting duties for any number of years. The authority of parliament must be made use of, and the duties on wine and West India commodities be made general for all North America." "The ministry, he added, "are not aware of the number of men in North America able to bear arms, and daily in the use of them. It becomes necessary that the colonies be early looked into, in time of peace, and regulated." Morris, the chief justice of New Jersey, interested in lands in that province, and trained by his father to a zeal for aristocratic ascendency, was much listened to. As a source of revenue, William Douglas, in Boston, a Scottish physician, publicly proposed "a stamp duty upon all instruments used in law affairs;" but the suggestion had nothing of novelty. We have seen that, in 1728, Sir William Keith had advised extending, "by act of parliament, the duties upon parchment and stamps to America;" and, eleven years later, the advice had been repeated by merchants in London, with solicitations that won for it the consideration of the ministry.

The indefatigable Shirley, who had not prevailed with Pelham, became the eulogist and principal adviser of Cumberland, of Bedford, and of Halifax. Should Massachusetts reduce his emoluments, he openly threatened to appeal to "an episcopal interest, and make himself independent of the assembly for any future support." The public mind in that province, especially in Boston, was earnestly inquiring into the active powers of man, to deduce from them the right to uncontrolled inquiry, as the only security against religious and civil bondage. Of that cause the champion was Jonathan Mayhew, offspring of purest ancestors, "sanctified" from childhood, a pupil of New England's Cambridge. "Instructed in youth," thus he spoke of himself, "in the doctrines of civil liberty, as they were taught by such men as Plato, Demosthenes, Cicero, and others, among the ancients; and such as Sidney and Milton, Locke and Hoadly, among the moderns, I liked them; and having learned from the holy scriptures that wise, brave, and virtuous men were always friends to liberty, that God gave the Israelites a king in his anger, because they had not sense and virtue enough to like a free commonwealth, and that where the

spirit of the Lord is there is liberty, this made me conclude that freedom is a great blessing." From early life, Mayhew took to his heart the right of private judgment, clinging to it as to his religion; truth and justice he revered as realities which every human being had capacity to discern; the duty of each individual to inquire and judge he deduced from the constitution of man, and held to be as universal as reason itself. At once becoming revolutionary, he scoffed at receiving opinions because his forefathers had embraced them; and, pushing the principle of Protestantism to its universal expression, he sent forth the American mind to do its work, disburdened of prejudices. The ocean which it had crossed had broken the trail of tradition, and it was now to find paths of its own.

In January 1750, the still youthful Mayhew, alarmed at the menaced encroachments of power, summoned every lover of truth and of mankind to bear a part in the defensive war against "tyranny and priestcraft." From the pulpit and through the press he reproved the impious bargain "between the sceptre and the surplice;" he preached resistance to "the first small beginnings of civil tyranny, lest it should swell to a torrent and deluge empires." "The doctrines," he cried, "of the divine right of kings and non-resistance are as fabulous and chimerical as the most absurd reveries of ancient or modern visionaries." "If those who bear the title of civil rulers do not perform the duty of civil rulers, if they injure and oppress, they have not the least pretence to be honored or obeyed. If the common safety and utility would not be promoted by submission to the government, there is no motive for submission;" disobedience becomes "lawful and glorious," "not a crime, but a duty."

The words of Mayhew were uttered at a time when "the plantations engaged the whole thoughts of the men in power," who were persuaded that all America was struggling to achieve a perfect legislative independence, and that New Jersey at least was in a state of rebellion. At a great council in February 1750, the board of trade was commanded to propose such measures as would restore and establish the prerogative, in its utmost extent, throughout the colonies. "Bedford, the lords

of trade, the privy council," all had American affairs "much at heart," and resolved to give ease to colonial governors and "their successors forever." The plea for the interposition of the supreme legislature sprang from the apprehension that a separate empire was forming. "Fools," said the elder proprietary, Penn, "are always telling their fears that the colonies will set up for themselves;" and their alarm was increased by Franklin's plan for an academy at Philadelphia. Fresh importunities succeeded each other from America; and, when Bedford sent assurances of his purpose to support the royal authority, he was referred by the crown officers of New York to the papers in the office of the board of trade relating to Hunter, who, from 1710 to 1714, had struggled in that province for the prerogative. Under the sanction of that precedent, Clinton urged, in March, that "it was absolutely necessary to check the insolence of faction by a powerful interposition;" and he, too, advised imposts on wine and West India produce. "These, if granted by parliament, would be sufficient for supporting the civil list; if made general over all the colonies, they could be in no shape prejudicial to trade." He insisted that the proposition contained its own evidence of being for the service of the king. "This province," he repeated in April, "by its example, greatly affects all the other colonies. Parliament, on a true representation of the state of the plantations, must think it their duty to make the royal officers less dependent on the assemblies, which may be easily done by granting to the king the same duties and imposts that, in the plantations, are usually granted from year to year."

Neither Bedford, nor Halifax, nor Charles Townshend could, of a sudden, overcome the usages and policy of more than a half-century; but new developments were easily given to the commercial and restrictive system. That the colonies might be filled with slaves, who should neither trouble Great Britain with fears of encouraging political independence, nor compete in their industry with British workshops, nor leave their employers the entire security that might prepare a revolt, liberty to trade—saddest concession of freedom—to and from any part of Africa, between Sallee, in South Barbary, and the Cape of Good Hope, was, in 1750, extended to all the subjects

of the king of England; but for the labor of free men new shackles were devised.

America abounded in iron ore; its unwrought iron was burdened with a duty in the English market. Its people were rapidly gaining skill at the furnace and the forge; in February 1750, the subject engaged the attention of the house of commons. To check the danger of American rivalry, Charles Townshend was placed at the head of a committee, on which Horatio Walpole, the auditor, and Robert Nugent, afterward Lord Clare—a man of talents, yet not free from "bombast and absurdities"—were among the associates. After a few days' deliberation, he brought in a bill which permitted American iron, in its rudest forms, to be imported duty free; but, now that the nailers in the colonies could afford spikes and large nails cheaper than the English, it forbade the smiths of America to erect any mill for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel. "The restriction," said Penn, "is of most dangerous consequence to prevent our making what we want for our own use. It is an attack on the rights of the king's subjects in America." William Bollan pleaded its inconsistency with the natural rights of the colonists. But, while England applauded the restriction, its owners of iron mines grudged to America a share of the market for the rough material; the tanners, from the threatened inaction of the English furnaces, feared a diminished supply of bark; the clergy and gentry foreboded injury to the price of woodlands. The importation of bar iron from the colonies was therefore limited to the port of London, which already had its supply from abroad. The ironmongers and smiths of Birmingham thought well of importing bars of iron free; but, from "compassion" to the "many thousand families in the kingdom" who otherwise "must be ruined," they prayed that "the American people" might be subject not to the proposed restrictions only, but to such others "as may secure forever the trade to this country." Some would have admitted the raw material from no colony where its minute manufacture was carried on. The house even divided on the proposal that every slitting-mill in America should be demolished. The clause failed by a majority of only twenty-two;

but an immediate return was required of every mill already existing, and the number was never to be increased.

The royalist Kennedy, a member of the council of New York and an advocate for parliamentary taxation, publicly urged on the ministry that "liberty and encouragement are the basis of colonies." "To supply ourselves," he urged, "with manufactures is practicable; and where people in such circumstances are numerous and free, they will push what they think is for their interest, and all restraining laws will be thought oppression, especially such laws as, according to the conceptions we have of English liberty, they have no hand in controverting or making. They cannot be kept dependent by keeping them poor;" and he quoted to the ministry the counsel of Trenchard in 1722, that the way to prevent them from weaning themselves was to keep it out of their will. But the mother country was more and more inclined to rely on measures of restraint and power. It began to be considered that the guard-ships were stationed in the colonies not so much for their defence as to preserve them in their dependence and prevent their illicit trade.

In the same year, Turgot, prior of the Sorbonne, and then just three-and-twenty years of age, exclaimed to the assembled clergy of France: "Vast regions of America! Equality keeps from them both luxury and want, and preserves to them purity and simplicity with freedom. Europe herself will find there the perfection of her political societies, and the surest support of her well-being." "Colonies," added the young philosopher, "are like fruits which cling to the tree only till they ripen: Carthage declared itself free as soon as it could take care of itself; so likewise will America." England's colonial policy was destroying itself. The same motive which prevailed to restrain colonial commerce and pursuits urged England to encroach on the possessions of France, that the future inhabitants of still larger regions might fall under English rule and pay tribute to English industry. In the mercantile system lay the seeds of a war with France for territory, and with America for independence.

But the attempt to establish that system of government, which must have provoked immediate resistance, was delayed

by jealousies and divisions in the cabinet. "It goes to my heart," said the duke of Newcastle, "that a new, unknown, factious young party is set up to rival me and nose me everywhere;" and he resolved to drive out of the administration the colleague whom he disliked, envied, and feared. The affairs of Nova Scotia served his purposes of intrigue.

The French saw with extreme anxiety the settlement at Halifax. To counteract its influence, a large force, under the sanguinary partisan, La Corne, had through the winter held possession of the isthmus of the peninsula, and found shelter among the Acadians south of the Messagouche, in the town of Chiegnecto, now known as Fort Lawrence. The inhabitants of that village, although it lay beyond the limits which La Corne was instructed to defend, were compelled to take the oaths of allegiance to the French king, and, in the name of three chiefs of the Micmac Indians, orders had been sent to the Acadians of the remoter settlements to renounce subjection to England and take refuge with the French.

Cornwallis, who had received the first notice of the movement from La Jonquière himself, desired immediately to recover the town. He sought aid from Massachusetts; but received for answer that, by the constitution of that province, the assembly must first be convinced of the necessity of raising supplies; that, to insure co-operation, compulsory measures must be adopted by the British government toward all the colonies. He was therefore able to send from Halifax no more than a party of four hundred men, who, just at sunset on the twentieth of April, arrived at the entrance of what is now called Cumberland basin. The next day the transports sailed near the harbor; the flag of the Bourbons was raised on the dikes to the north of the Messagouche; while, to the south of it, the priest, La Loutre himself, set fire to the church in Chiegnecto; and its despairing inhabitants, attached to their homes which stood on some of the most fertile land in the world, yet bound to France by their religion and their oaths, consumed their houses to ashes, and escaped across the river which marks the limit of the peninsula.

On Sunday, the twenty-second, Lawrence, the English commander, having landed north of Messagouche, had an interview

with La Corne, who avowed his purpose, under instructions from La Jonquière, to hold at all hazards every post as far as the river Messagouche till the boundaries between the two countries should be settled by commissaries. He had under his command Indians, Canadians, regular troops, and Acadian refugees, to the number, it was thought, of twenty-five hundred. The English officer was therefore compelled to retire on the very day on which he landed.

A swift vessel was despatched expressly from Halifax to inform the government that La Corne and La Loutre held possession of the isthmus; that a town, which was within the acknowledged British limits, had been set on fire; that its inhabitants had crossed over to the French side; that the refugees, able to bear arms, were organized as a military force; that the French Acadians, remaining within the peninsula, unanimously wished to abandon it, rather than take the oath of allegiance to the English king; that the savages were incited to inroads and threats of a general massacre; that the war was continued on the part of the French by all open and secret means. At the same time, the governments of New Hampshire and the Massachusetts bay were informed of "the audacious proceedings" of the French, and invited to join in punishing La Corne as "a public incendiary."

In England, the earl of Halifax insisted that the colony should be supported. New settlers were collected to be carried over at the public expense; and an Irish regiment was sent, with orders that Chiegnecto should be taken, fortified, and, if possible, colonized by Protestants. Yet a marked difference of opinion existed between the lords of trade and their superior. Bedford was honorably inclined to a pacific adjustment with France; but Halifax was ready to accept all risks of war. Impatient at his subordinate position, he "heartily hated" his patron, and aspired to a seat in the cabinet, with exclusive authority in the department.

Newcastle was sure to seize the occasion to side against the duke of Bedford, of whose "boyishness" and inattention to business even Pelham began to complain. "His office is a sinecure," said the king, who missed the pedantry of forms. It seemed as if Halifax would at once obtain the seals of the

southern department, with the entire charge of the colonies. "Among the young ones, Halifax," wrote Pelham, "has the most efficient talents." "He would be more approved by the public," thought Hardwicke, "than either Holdernesse or Waldegrave." But Newcastle interposed, saying: "Halifax is the last man, except Sandwich, I should think of for secretary of state. He is so conceited of his parts he would not be in the cabinet one month without thinking he knew as much or more of business than any one man. He is impracticable; the most odious man in the kingdom. A man of his life, spirit, and temper will think he knows better than anybody." Newcastle would have none of "that young fry;" and yet he would be rid of Bedford. "I am, I must be an errant cipher of the worst sort," said he in his distress, "if the duke of Bedford remains coupled with me as secretary of state." To get rid of Bedford was still to him "the great point," "the great point of all," more than the choice of the next emperor of Germany, and more than a war with the Bourbons.

The two dukes remained at variance, leaving Cornwallis to "get the better in Nova Scotia without previous concert with France." In August, a second expedition left Halifax to take possession of Chiegnecto. A few Indians and Acadian refugees, aided, perhaps, by French in disguise, had intrenched themselves behind the dikes, and opposed its landing; nor were they dislodged without an intrepid assault, in which six of the English were killed and twelve wounded. This was the first shedding of blood after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Fort Lawrence was now built on the south of the Messagouche; but the French had already fortified the opposite bank at Fort Beau Séjour as well as at Bay Verte. Having posts at the mouth of the St. John's river and the alliance of the neighboring Indians, they held the continent from Bay Verte to the borders of the Penobscot.

Such was the state of occupancy when, in September 1750, at Paris, Shirley, who had been placed at the head of the British commission, presented a memorial, claiming for the English all the land east of the Penobscot and south of the St. Lawrence as constituting the ancient Acadia. The claim, in its full latitude, was preposterous. In their reply, the French commis-

saries, in like manner disregarding the obvious construction of treaties, narrowed Acadia to the strip of land on the Atlantic between Cape St. Mary and Cape Canso.

There existed in France statesmen who thought Canada itself an encumbrance, entailing expenses more than benefits. But La Galissonière pleaded to the ministry that honor, glory, and religion forbade the abandonment of faithful and affectionate colonists, and the renunciation of the great work of converting the infidels of the wilderness; that Detroit was the natural centre of a boundless inland commerce; that the country of Illinois, in a delightful climate, was an open prairie, waiting for the plough; that Canada and Louisiana were the bulwarks of France in America against English ambition. Puysieux, the French minister for foreign affairs, like the English secretary, Bedford, was earnestly desirous of avoiding war; but a fresh collision in America touched the honor of the French nation, and made negotiation hopeless.

A French brigantine with a schooner, laden with provisions and warlike stores, and bound from Quebec to the river St. John's, was met by Rous, in the British ship-of-war Albany, off Cape Sable. He fired a gun to bring her to; she kept on her course: he fired another and a third; and the brigantine prepared for action. The English instantly poured into her a broadside and a volley of small arms, and, after a short action, compelled her to strike. The Albany had a midshipman and two mariners killed; the French lost five men. The brigantine was taken to Halifax, and condemned in the admiralty court. To France it seemed that its flag had been insulted, its maritime rights disregarded, its men wantonly slain in time of peace, its property piratically seized and confiscated.

The territory which is now Vermont was equally in dispute; New York carried its claims to the Connecticut river; France, which had command of Lake Champlain, extended her pretensions to the crest of the Green Mountains; while Wentworth, the only royal governor in New England, began to convey the soil between the Connecticut and Lake Champlain by grants under the seal of New Hampshire.

A deeper interest hung over the region drained by the Ohio. What language shall be the mother tongue of its future

millions? Shall the Latin or the Teutonic nationality form the seed of its people? This year, Thomas Walker, of Virginia, conducted an exploring party into the South-west, and gave the name of Cumberland to a range of mountains, a pass, and a river; on a beech-tree Ambrose Powell carved his name, which is still borne by a river and a valley.

The Six Nations asked the protection of New York for their friends and allies on the north of the Ohio. After concert with the governor of Pennsylvania, Clinton, in September 1750, appealed to the assembly for means to confirm their Indian alliances, and to assist "in securing the fidelity of the Indians on Ohio river." The assembly refused.

The French, by their system of administration, insured obedience to "one council and one voice." To counteract their designs, the best minds in New York and other provinces were devising methods for "uniting the colonies on the main." Doubting whether union could be effected "without an immediate application to his majesty for that purpose," the council of New York still determined that the governor "should write to all governors upon the continent having Indian nations in their alliance, to invite commissioners from their respective governments" to meet the savage chiefs at Albany. But, from what Clinton called "the penurious temper of American assemblies," this invitation was not generally accepted, though it forms one important step in the progress of America toward union.

While Pennsylvania, in strife with its proprietaries, neglected its western frontier, the Ohio company of Virginia, profiting by the intelligence of Indian hunters who had followed every stream to its head-spring and crossed every gap in the mountain ranges, discovered the path by Will's creek to the Ohio. Their stores of goods, in 1750, were carried no farther than that creek. There they were sold to traders, who, with rivals from Pennsylvania, penetrated the West as far as the Miamis.

To search out and discover the lands westward of "the Great Mountains," the Ohio company summoned the adventurous Christopher Gist from his frontier home on the Yadkin. He was instructed to examine the western country as far as the

falls of the Ohio; to look for a large tract of good level land; to mark the passes in the mountains; to trace the courses of the rivers; to count the falls; to observe the strength and numbers of the Indian nations.

On the last day of October 1750, the bold envoy of civilization parted from the Potomac. He passed through snows over "the stony and broken land" of the Alleghanies; he halted among the twenty Delaware families that composed Shanoppin's town on the south-east side of the Ohio; swimming his horses across the river, he descended through the rich but narrow valley to Logstown. "You are come," said the jealous people, "to settle the Indians' lands: you never shall go home safe." Yet they respected him as a messenger from the English king. From the Great Beaver creek he crossed to the Muskingum, killing deer and wild turkeys. On Elk's Eye creek he found a village of the Ottawas, friends to the French. The hundred families of Wyandots, or Little Mingoes, at Muskingum, were divided, one half adhering to the English. George Croghan, an Indian trader, then the emissary from Pennsylvania, was already there; and traders came with the news that two of his people were taken by a party of French and Indians, and carried to the new fort at Sandusky. "Come and live with us," said the Wyandots to Gist; "bring great guns and make a fort. If the French claim the branches of the lakes, those of the Ohio belong to us and our brothers, the English." In January, 1751, after a delay of more than a month, the Wyandots held a council at Muskingum; but, while they welcomed the English agents, and accepted their strings of wampum, they deferred their decision to a general council of their several nations. The Delawares, who dwelt five miles above the mouth of the Scioto, like the others of their tribe, which counted in all five hundred warriors, promised good-will and love to the English.

Just below the mouth of the Scioto lay the town of the Shawnees, on each side of the Ohio. They gratefully adhered to the English, who had averted from them the wrath of the Six Nations.

The envoys of the English world next crossed the Little Miami, and journeyed in February toward the Miami river;

first of white men on record, they saw that the land beyond the Scioto, except for the first twenty miles, is rich and level, bearing walnut-trees of huge size, the maple, the wild cherry, and the ash; full of little streams and rivulets; variegated by natural prairies, covered with wild rye, blue grass, and white clover. Turkeys abounded, and deer; elks and most sorts of game; of buffaloes, thirty or forty were frequently seen feeding in one meadow. "Nothing," they cried, "is wanting but cultivation to make this a most delightful country." Their horses swam over the swollen current of the Great Miami; on a raft of logs they transported their goods and saddles. Outside of the town of the Picqualennees the warriors came forth to them with the peace-pipe. They entered the village with the English colors, were received as guests into the king's house, and planted the red cross upon its roof.

The Miamis were the most powerful confederacy of the West, excelling the Six Nations, with whom they were in amity. Each tribe had its own chief; of whom one, at that time the chief of the Piankeshaws, was chosen indifferently to rule the whole nation. They formerly dwelt on the Wabash, but, for the sake of trading with the English, drew nearer the East. Their influence reached to the Mississippi, and they received frequent visits from tribes beyond that river. The town of Picqua contained about four hundred families, and was one of the strongest in that part of the continent.

On the night of the arrival of the envoys from Virginia and Pennsylvania, two strings of wampum, given at the Long House of the villages, removed trouble from their hearts and cleared their eyes; and four other belts confirmed the message from the Wyandots and Delawares, commending the English to their care.

In the days that followed, the traders' men helped the men of Picqua to repair their fort, and distributed clothes and paint, that they might array themselves for the council. When it was told that deputies from the Wawiachtas, or, as we call them, Weas, and from the Piankeshaws, were coming, deputies from the Picquas went forth to meet them. The English were summoned to the Long House, to sit for a quarter of an hour in the silence of expectation, when two from each tribe,

commissioned by their nations to bring the long pipe, entered with their message and their calumet.

On the twenty-first of February, after a distribution of presents, articles of peace and alliance were drawn up between the English of Pennsylvania on the one side, and the Weas and Piankeshaws on the other; were signed and sealed in duplicate, and delivered on both sides. All the friendly tribes of the West were to meet the next summer at Logstown, for a general treaty with Virginia.

The indentures had just been exchanged, when four Ottawas drew near, with a present from the governor of Canada; were admitted to the council, and desired a renewal of friendship with their fathers, the French. The king of the Piankeshaws, setting up the English colors, as well as the French, replied: "The path to the French is bloody, and was made so by them. We have cleared a road for our brothers, the English; and your fathers have made it foul and have taken some of our brothers prisoners." They had seized three at the Huron village near Detroit, and one on the Wabash. "This," added the king, "we look upon as done to us;" and, turning suddenly from them, he strode out of the council. At this, the representative of the French, an Ottawa, wept and howled, predicting sorrow for the Miamis.

The Weas and Piankeshaws, after deliberation, sent a speech to the English by the great orator of the Weas. "You have taken us by the hand," were his words, "into the great chain of friendship. Therefore we present you with these two bundles of skins to make shoes for your people; and this pipe to smoke, to assure you our hearts are good toward you, our brothers."

In the presence of the Ottawa ambassadors, the great war-chief of Picqua stood up, and, summoning in imagination the French to be present, he spoke: "Fathers! you have desired we should go home to you, but I tell you it is not our home; for we have made a path to the sun-rising, and have been taken by the hand by our brothers, the English, the Six Nations, the Delawares, the Shawnees, and the Wyandots; and, we assure you, in that road we will go. That you may know our mind, we send you this string of black wampum.

"Brothers, the Ottawas, tell that to your fathers, the French; for we speak it from our hearts."

The French colors are taken down, the Ottawas are dismissed to the French fort at Sandusky. The Long House, late the senate-chamber of the united Miamis, rings with the music and the riotous motions of the feather-dance. A war-chief strikes a post: the music ceases, and the dancers, on the instant, are hushed to silent listeners; the brave recounts his deeds in war, and proves the greatness of his mind by throwing presents lavishly to the musicians and the dancers. Then the turmoil of joy is renewed, till another rises to boast his prowess, and scatter gifts in his turn.

On the first day of March, the agent of the Ohio company took his leave. Extending his tour, he gazed with rapture on the valley of the Great Miami, "the finest meadows that can be." He was told that the land was not less fertile to the very head-springs of the river, and west to the Wabash. He descended to the Ohio by way of the Little Miami, still finding many "clear fields," where herds of forty or fifty buffaloes were feeding together on the wonderfully tall grasses. When within fifteen miles of the falls at Louisville, he checked his perilous course; then ascending the valley of the Kentucky river, he found a pass to the Bluestone, and returned to his employers by way of the Roanoke.

In April 1751, Croghan again repaired to the Ohio Indians. The half-king, a chief so called because he and his tribe were subordinate to the Iroquois confederacy, reported that the news of the expedition under Celoron had swayed the Onondaga council to allow the English to establish a trading-house; and a belt of wampum invited Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, to build a fort at the forks of Monongahela.

CHAPTER IV.

AMERICA REFUSES TO BE RULED BY ARBITRARY INSTRUCTIONS. HENRY PELHAM'S ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED.

1751–1753.

The British ministry, absorbed by intrigues at home, gave little heed to the glorious country beyond the Alleghanies. Having failed in the attempt to subject the colonies by act of parliament to all future orders of the king, the lords of trade sought to gain the same end in detail. Rhode Island, a charter government, of which the laws were valid without the assent of the king, continued to emit paper currency; and the more freely, because Massachusetts had withdrawn its notes and returned to hard money. In 1742, twenty-eight shillings of Rhode Island currency would have purchased an ounce of silver; seven years afterward it required sixty shillings: compared with sterling money, the depreciation was as ten and a half or eleven to one. From the board of trade, in March 1751, a bill was presented to restrain bills of credit in New England, with an additional clause giving the authority of law to the king's instructions on that subject. In "the dangerous precedent" Bollan discerned the latent purpose of extending the same authority to other articles. He argued, moreover, that "the province had a natural and lawful right to make use of its credit for its defence and preservation." New York urged "the benefit of a paper credit." The obnoxious clause was abandoned; yet there seemed to exist in the minds of "some persons of consequence" a fixed design of getting a parliamentary sanction to the king's instructions.

Meantime, parliament, on the motion of Lord Chesterfield,

for all the British dominions, adopted the new style of reckoning time.

The board of trade was all the while maturing its scheme for controlling America. With Bedford's approbation, they advised a more authoritative commission for the next governor of New York, with more stringent instructions to its legislature to grant a permanent revenue to the royal officers, sufficient for Indian presents and for the civil list. At the same time it was resolved, under the guise of lenity, to obtain an American revenue by aid of parliament. The prohibitory discriminating duties in favor of the British West Indies, "given and granted" by parliament in 1733, on the products of the foreign West India islands imported into the continental colonies, were to be greatly reduced and collected.

But no energetic system of colonial administration could be adopted without the aid of the friends of Bedford, and an intrigue to drive him from the cabinet had come to maturity. His neglect of the forms of office had vexed the king; his independence of character had offended the king's mistress. Sandwich, his friend, was dismissed from the admiralty. Admitted in June to an audience at court, Bedford inveighed long and vehemently against the treachery of the duke of Newcastle, and resigned. His successor was the earl of Holdernesse, a courtly peer, formal, and of talents which could not disquiet even Newcastle or alarm America.

Every province shunned the charge of securing the valley of the Ohio. Of the Virginia company the means were limited. The assembly of Pennsylvania, from motives of economy, refused to ratify the treaty which Croghan had negotiated at Picqua, while the proprietaries of that province denied their liability "to contribute to Indian or any other expenses," and sought to cast the burden of a western fort on the equally reluctant "people of Virginia." New York would but remonstrate with the governor of Canada.

At the appointed time in July 1751, the deputies of the Six Nations repaired to Albany to renew their covenant chain, and to chide the inaction of the English. When the congress, which Clinton had invited to meet the Iroquois, assembled at Albany, South Carolina came, for the first time, to join in

council with New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts—its earliest movement toward confederation. From the Catawbas, hereditary foes to the Six Nations, deputies attended to hush the war-song that for so many generations had lured their chiefs along the Blue Ridge to western New York. They approached the grand council, singing words of reconciliation; bearing colored feathers horizontally, as to friends. Their great chief was the first to smoke the peace-pipe which he had lighted; then Hendrick, of the Mohawks; and all the principal sachems in succession. Nor was the council dismissed till a tree of peace was planted, which was ever to be green, and to spread its shadow from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

The French, on their side, sent priests to proselyte the Six Nations, and traders to undersell the British; in the summer of 1751, they launched an armed vessel of unusual size on Lake Ontario, and converted their trading-house at Niagara into a fortress; they warned the governor of Pennsylvania that the English never should make a treaty in the basin of the Ohio; they despatched troops to prevent an intended congress of red men; and they resolved to ruin the English interest in the remoter West by taking vengeance on the Miamis.

Yet Louis XV. disclaimed hostile intentions; and to the British minister at Paris he expressed concern that any cause of offence had arisen. But Saint-Contest, who, in September 1751, became minister, though a feeble statesman and fond of peace, aimed at a federative maritime system against England; and Rouillé, the minister of the marine department, loved war and prepared for it. Spain wisely kept aloof. "By antipathy, and from interest," said the marquis of Ensenada, the considerate minister of Ferdinand VI., "the French and English will be enemies, for they are rivals for universal commerce;" and he urged on his sovereign seasonable preparations, that he might, by neutrality, recover Gibraltar.

Everything portended a conflict between England and France along their frontiers in America. To be prepared for it, Clinton's advisers recommended to secure the dominion of Lake Ontario by forts and by an armed sloop. It was asked, How is the expense to be defrayed? And the governor of New York proposed anew "a general duty by act of parlia-

ment; because it would be a most vain imagination to expect that all the colonies would severally agree to impose it."

The receiver-general of New York, Archibald Kennedy, urged, through the press, "an annual meeting of commissioners from all the colonies, at New York or Albany;" and advised an increase of the respective quotas, and the enlargement of the union, so as to comprise the Carolinas. "From upward of forty years' observation upon the conduct of provincial assemblies, and the little regard paid by them to instructions," he inferred that "a British parliament must oblige them to contribute, or the whole would end in altercation and words."

"A voluntary union entered into by the colonies themselves," said a voice from Philadelphia, in March 1752, "would be preferable to one imposed by parliament; for it would be, perhaps, not much more difficult to procure, and more easy to alter and improve, as circumstances should require and experience direct. It would be very strange if six nations of ignorant savages should be capable of forming a union that has subsisted for ages, and appears indissoluble; and yet that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies, to whom it is more necessary, and must be more advantageous."

While the people of America were becoming familiar with the thought of one voluntary confederacy, the government of England took a decisive step toward that concentration of power over its remote dominions, which for thirty years had been the avowed object of the board of trade. Halifax, with his colleagues, of whom Charles Townshend was the most enterprising and most rash, was vested with the entire patronage and correspondence belonging to American affairs, except that on important matters governors might still address the secretary of state, through whom nominations to offices were to be laid before the king. Nor did the board of trade delay to exercise its functions, being resolved to attach large emoluments, independent of American acts of assembly, to all the offices, of which they had now acquired the very lucrative patronage.

But, in the moment of experiment, delay arose from the state of relations with France. Danger lowered on the whole American frontier. In the early summer of 1752, John Stark, of New Hampshire, as fearless a young forester as ever biv

ouacked in the wilderness, of a rugged nature but of the coolest judgment, was trapping beaver along the brooks of his native highlands, when a party of St. Francis Indians stole upon his steps and scalped one of his companions. By courage and good humor, he won the love of his captors, was saluted by their tribe as a young chief, and for a ransom was set free.

The Ohio company, with the sanction of the legislature of Virginia, were forming a settlement beyond the mountains. Gist had, on a second tour, explored the lands south-east of the Ohio as far as the Kanawha. But the jealous deputy of the Delaware chiefs exclaimed: "Where lie the lands of the Indians? The French claim all on one side of the river, and the English on the other."

Virginia, under the treaty of Lancaster, of 1744, assumed the right to lands as far west as the Mississippi. In May 1752, her commissioners met chiefs of the Mingoes, Shawnees, and Ohio Indians at Logstown. It was pretended that chiefs of the Six Nations were present; but, at a general meeting at Onondaga, they had resolved that it did not suit their customs "to treat of affairs in the woods and weeds." "Now," said the half-king, "we see and know that the French design to cheat us out of our lands, for they have struck our friends, the Miamis: we therefore desire our brothers of Virginia may build a strong house at the fork of Monongahela."

In pursuance of the resolve to exclude the English from the valley of the Miami, on the morning of the summer solstice, two Frenchmen, with two hundred and forty French Indians, leaving thirty Frenchmen as a reserve, suddenly appeared before the town of Picqua, when most of the people were hunting, and demanded the surrender of the English traders and their effects. The king of the Piankeshaws replied: "They are here at our invitation; we will not do so base a thing as to deliver them up." The French party assaulted the fort; the Piankeshaws bravely defended themselves and their guests, but were overwhelmed by numbers. One white man was killed, and five were taken prisoners; of the Miamis, fourteen were killed; the king of the Piankeshaws, the chief of the confederacy, was sacrificed and eaten.

When William Trent, of Virginia, proceeded from the

council-fires at Logstown to the Picqua, he found the French colors flying over its deserted ruins. Having substituted the English flag, he returned to the Shawnee town, at the mouth of the Scioto, where the messengers of the allied tribes met to concert revenge.

"Brothers," said the Delawares to the Miamis, "we desire the English and the Six Nations to put their hands upon your heads, and keep the French from hurting you. Stand fast in the chain of friendship with the government of Virginia."

"Brothers," said the Miamis to the English, "the dwellings of your governors are like the spring in its bloom."

"Brothers," they added to the Six Nations, holding aloft a calumet ornamented with feathers, "the French and their Indians have struck us, yet we kept this pipe unhurt;" and they delivered it to the Six Nations, in token of friendship with them and with their allies.

A shell and a string of black wampum were given to signify the unity of heart; and that, though it was darkness to the westward, yet toward the sun-rising it was bright and clear. Another string of black wampum announced that the Miamis held the hatchet in their hand, ready to strike the French. The widowed queen of the Piankeshaws sent a belt of black shells intermixed with white. "Brothers," such were her words, "I am left a poor, lonely woman, with one son; I pray the English, the Six Nations, the Shawnees, and the Delawares to take care of him."

The Weas produced a calumet. "We have had this feathered pipe," said they, "from the beginning of the world; so that, when it becomes cloudy, we can sweep the clouds away. It is dark in the west; yet we sweep all clouds away toward the sun-rising, and leave a clear and serene sky."

All the speeches were repeated to the deputies of the nations represented at Logstown, that they might be pronounced correctly before the council at Onondaga. A messenger from the Miamis hurried across the mountains, bearing to Dinwiddie, the able lieutenant-governor of Virginia, a belt of wampum, the scalp of a French Indian, and a feathered pipe, with letters from the dwellers on the Maumee and on the Wabash. "Our good brothers of Virginia," said the former, "we must

look upon ourselves as lost, if our brothers, the English, do not stand by us and give us arms." "Eldest brother," pleaded the Picts and Windaws, "this string of wampum assures you that the French king's servants have spilled our blood, and eaten the flesh of three of our men. Look upon us, and pity us; for we are in great distress. Our chiefs have taken up the hatchet of war. We have killed and eaten ten of the French and two of their negroes. We are your brothers."

In December 1752, Dinwiddie made an elaborate report to the board of trade, and asked instructions as to his conduct in resisting the French. The Ohio valley he foresaw would fall to the Americans from the gradual extension of their settlements, for whose security he recommended a barrier of western forts and an alliance with the Miamis.

The aged and undiscerning German prince who still sat on the British throne, methodically narrow, meanly avaricious and spiritless, cared more for Hanover than for America. His ministers were intent only on keeping in power. "To be well together with Lady Yarmouth," Pelham wrote, "is the best ground to stand on." "If the good-will of the king's mistress shakes," continued England's prime minister to its principal secretary of state, "we have no resource." The whig aristocracy had ruled for nearly forty years, and it had nothing better to offer the British people than an administration which openly spoke of seats in parliament as "a marketable commodity," and governed the king by paying court to his vices.

The heir to the throne was a boy of fourteen, of whose education royalists and the more liberal aristocracy were disputing the charge. His birth occurred within less than ten months of that of his eldest sister; and his organization was marked by a nervous irritability, which increased with years. "He shows no disposition to any great excess," said Dodington to his mother. "He is a very honest boy," answered the princess, who still wished him "more forward and less childish." "The young people of quality," she added, "are so ill-educated and so very vicious that they frighten me;" and she secluded her son from their society. The prince, from his own serious nature, favored this retirement; when angry, he would hide his passion in the solitude of his chamber; and, as he grew up,

his strict sobriety and fondness for domestic life were alike observable. He never loved study. "I am afraid," said his mother, "his preceptors teach him not much." "I do not much regard books," rejoined her adviser, Dodington; "but his royal highness should be informed of the general frame of this government and constitution, and the general course of business." "I am of your opinion," answered the princess. "I know nothing," she added, "of the Jacobitism attempted to be instilled into the child; I cannot conceive what they mean." But Lord Harcourt, the governor, "complained strongly to the king that arbitrary principles were instilled into the prince;" and the earl of Waldegrave, Harcourt's successor, "found Prince George uncommonly full of princely prejudices, contracted in the nursery, and improved by the society of bed-chamber women and pages of the back stairs. A right system of education seemed impracticable."

In January 1753, the communication of Dinwiddie found the lords of trade bent on sustaining the extended limits of America. In the study of the western world, no one of them was so indefatigable as Charles Townshend. The elaborate memorial on the limits of Acadia, delivered in Paris by the English commissioners that month, was entirely his work, and, though unsound in its foundation, won for him great praise for research and ability. He now joined his colleagues in advising the immediate occupation of the eastern bank of the Ohio.

Many proposals were "made for laying taxes on North America." The board of trade still urged "a revenue with which to fix settled salaries on the northern governors, and defray the cost of Indian alliances." "Persons of consequence repeatedly, and without concealment, expressed undigested notions of raising revenues out of the colonies." Some proposed to obtain them from the post-office, a modification of the acts of trade, and a general stamp act for America. With Pelham's concurrence, the board of trade, on the eighth day of March 1753, announced to the house of commons the want of a colonial revenue; and, as the first expedient, proposed imposts on all West Indian produce brought into the northern colonies. The project was delayed only for the adjustment of its details.

Meantime, at Winchester, in 1753, a hundred Indians of

Ohio renewed to Virginia the proposal for an English fort on the Ohio, and promised aid in repelling the French. They repaired to Pennsylvania with the same message, and were met by evasions. The ministry, which had, from the first, endeavored to put upon America the expenses of Indian treaties and of colonial defence, continued to receive early and accurate intelligence from Dinwiddie. The king in council, swayed by the representations of the board, decided that the valley of the Ohio was in the western part of the colony of Virginia; and that "the march of certain Europeans to erect a fort in parts" of his dominions was to be resisted; but the cabinet, with Holdernesse and Newcastle for its guides, took no effective measures to support the decree. It only instructed Virginia, at its own cost and with its own militia, to build forts on the Ohio, to keep the Indians in subjection, and to repel the French by force. France was defied and attacked, with no preparation beyond a secretary's letters and the king's instructions. A circular was sent to every one of the colonies, vaguely requiring them to aid each other in repelling all encroachments of France on "the undoubted" territory of England.

This is the time chosen by the board of trade for the one last great effort to govern America by the prerogative. New York remained the scene of the experiment; and Sir Danvers Osborne, brother-in-law to the earl of Halifax, having Thomas Pownall for his secretary, was commissioned as its governor, with instructions which were "advised" by Halifax and Charles Townshend, and were confirmed by the king in council.

The new governor, just as he was embarking, was charged "to apply his thoughts very closely to Indian affairs;" and, in September, the lords of trade directed commissioners from the northern colonies to meet the next summer at Albany and make a common treaty with the Six Nations.

During the voyage, Osborne, reeling with private grief, brooded despondingly over the task he had assumed. On the tenth of October 1753, he took the oaths of office at New York; and the people, who welcomed him with acclamations, hooted his predecessor. "I expect the like treatment," said he to Clinton, "before I leave the government." On the same day he was startled by an address from the city council, who

declared they would not "brook any infringement of their inestimable liberties, civil and religious." On the next, he communicated to the council his instructions, which required the assembly "to recede from all encroachments on the prerogative," and "to consider, without delay, of a proper law for a permanent revenue, solid, definite, and without limitation." All public money was to be applied by the governor's warrant, with the consent of council, and the assembly was never to be allowed to examine accounts. With a distressed countenance and a plaintive voice, he asked if these instructions would be obeyed. All agreed that the assembly never would comply. He sighed, turned about, reclined against the window-frame, and exclaimed: "Then why am I come here?"

Being of morbid sensitiveness, honest, and scrupulous of his word, the unhappy man spent the night in arranging his private affairs, and toward morning hanged himself against the fence in the garden. His death left the government in the hands of James Delancey, whose neutrality Newcastle had endeavored to conciliate by a commission as lieutenant-governor. "Dissolve us as often as you will," said his old associates in opposition, "we will never give up" the custom of annual grants. But they consented that all disbursements of public money should require the warrant of the governor and council, except only for the payment of their own clerk and their agent in England. The instructions given to Osborne, Charles Townshend defended to the last; but the younger Horace Walpole judged them "better calculated for the latitude of Mexico and for a Spanish tribunal than for free, rich British settlements, in such opulence and haughtiness that suspicions had long been conceived of their meditating to throw off their dependence on the mother country."

While Great Britain was thus marching toward the loss of her colonies, the earl of Chesterfield wrote: "This I foresee in France, that, before the end of this century, the trade of both king and priest will not be half so good a one as it has been." "All the symptoms which I have ever met with in history, previous to great changes and revolutions in government, now exist and daily increase in France."

CHAPTER V.

FRANKLIN PLANS UNION FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. HENRY PELHAM'S ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED.

1753–1754.

From Virginia, the Ohio company, in 1753, opened a road by Will's creek into the western valley; and Gist established a plantation near the Youghiogeny, just beyond Laurel Hill. Eleven families settled in his vicinity; a town and fort were marked out on Shurtee's creek, but the British government left the feeble company exposed to the red men and to the French.

The young men of the Six Nations had been hunting near the rapids of the St. Lawrence. Suddenly they beheld a large body of French and Indians, equipped for war, marching toward Lake Ontario; and their two fleetest messengers hurried to the grand council at Onondaga. In eight-and-forty hours the decision of the council was borne by fresh posts to the nearest English station; and on the nineteenth of April, at midnight, the two Indians from Canajoharie, escorted by Mohawk warriors, that filled the air with their whoops and halloos, presented to Johnson the belt summoning the English to protect the Ohio Indians and the Miamis. In May, more than thirty canoes were counted as they passed Oswego; part of an army going to "the Beautiful River" of the French. The Six Nations foamed with eagerness to take up the hatchet; for, said they, "Ohio is ours."

On the report that twelve hundred men had been detached from Montreal, by Duquesne, the successor of La Jonquière, to occupy the Ohio valley, the Indians on the banks of that river—promiscuous bands of Delawares, Shawnees, and Min-

goes, or emigrant Iroquois—after a council at Logstown, resolved to protest against the invasion. Their envoy met the French, in April, at Niagara, and gave them the first warning to turn back.

As the message sent from the council-fires of the tribes was unheeded, Tanacharisson, the half-king, repaired to them at the newly discovered harbor of Erie, and, undismayed by a rude reception, delivered his speech: "Fathers! you are disturbers in this land, by taking it away unknown to us and by force. This is our land, and not yours. Fathers! both you and the English are white; the land belongs to neither the one nor the other of you; but the Great Being above allowed it to be a dwelling-place for us: so, fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have desired our brothers, the English;" and he gave the belt of wampum.

"Child," replied the French officer, "you talk foolishly; you say this land belongs to you; but not so much of it as the black of your nail is yours. It is my land; and I will have it, let who will stand up against it;" and he threw back the wampum. His words dismayed the half-king.

In September, the mightiest men of the Mingo clan, of the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Wyandots, and the Miamis, met Franklin, of Pennsylvania, and his two colleagues, at Carlisle. They wished neither French nor English to settle in their country; if the English would lend aid, they would repel the French. The calm statesman distributed presents to all, but especially gifts of condolence to the tribe that dwelt at Picqua; and, returning to Philadelphia, he made known that the French had established posts at Erie, Waterford, and Venango, and were preparing to occupy the banks of the Monongahela.

Sanctioned by orders from the king, Dinwiddie, of Virginia, resolved to send "a person of distinction to the commander of the French forces on the Ohio river, to know his reasons for invading the British dominions, while a solid peace subsisted." The envoy whom he selected was George Washington. The young man, then just twenty-one, familiar with the wilderness, entered with alacrity on the perilous winter's journey from Williamsburg to the streams of Lake Erie.

In the middle of November, with an interpreter and four

attendants, and Christopher Gist as a guide, he left Will's creek; and following the Indian trace through gloomy solitudes, crossing mountains, rocky ravines, and streams, through sleet and snows, he rode in nine days to the fork of the Ohio. How lonely was the spot, where, so long unheeded of men, the rapid Alleghany met nearly at right angles "the deep and still" Monongahela! "I spent some time," said Washington, "in viewing the rivers;" "the land in the fork has the absolute command of both." "The flat, well-timbered land all around the point lies very convenient for building." After creating in imagination a fortress and a city, he and his party, on the twenty-third of November 1753, swam their horses across the Alleghany, and wrapped their blankets around them for the night on its north-west bank.

From the fork, the chief of the Delawares conducted Washington through rich alluvial fields to the valley at Logstown. There deserters from Louisiana discoursed of the route from New Orleans to Quebec, along the Wabash and the Maumee, and of a detachment from the lower province on its way to meet the French troops from Lake Erie, while Washington held close colloquy with the half-king; the one anxious to gain the West as a part of Virginia, the other to preserve it for the red men. "We are brothers," said the half-king, in council; "we are one people; I will send back the French speech-belt, and will make the Shawnees and the Delawares do the same."

On the night of the twenty-ninth, the council-fire was kindled; an aged orator was selected to address the French; the speech which he was to deliver was debated and rehearsed; it was agreed that, unless the French would heed this third warning to quit the land, the Delawares would be their enemies; and a very large string of black and white wampum was sent to the Six Nations as a prayer for aid.

After these preparations, the party of Washington, attended by the half-king and envoys of the Delawares, moved onward to the French at Venango. The officers there avowed the purpose of taking possession of the Ohio; and they mingled the praises of La Salle with boasts of their forts at Le Bœuf and Erie, at Niagara, Toronto, and Frontenac. "The

English," said they, "can raise two men to our one; but they are too dilatory to prevent any enterprise of ours." The Delawares were intimidated; but the half-king clung to Washington like a brother, and delivered up his belt as he had promised.

The creeks were swollen; the messengers could pass them only by felling trees for bridges. Thus they proceeded, now killing a buck and now a bear, delayed by rains and snows, by mire and swamps, while Washington's quick eye discerned all the richness of the meadows.

At Waterford, the limit of his journey, he found Fort Le Bœuf defended by cannon. Around it stood the barracks of the soldiers, rude log cabins, roofed with bark. Fifty birch-bark canoes, and one hundred and seventy boats of pine, were already constructed for the descent of the river, and materials were collected for building more. The commander, Gardeur de Saint-Pierre, an officer of integrity and experience, and for his dauntless courage both feared and beloved by the red men, refused to discuss questions of right. "I am here," said he, "by the orders of my general, to which I shall conform with exactness." And he avowed his purpose of seizing every Englishman within the Ohio valley.

Breaking away from courtesies, Washington hastened homeward. The rapid current of French creek dashed his party against rocks; in shallow places they waded, the water congealing on their clothes; where the ice had lodged on the bend of the rivers, they carried their canoe across the neck. At Venango, they found their horses, but so weak that they went still on foot, heedless of the storm. The cold increased very fast; the paths grew "worse by a deep snow continually freezing." Impatient to get back with his despatches, the young envoy, wrapping himself in an Indian dress, with gun in hand and pack on his back, the day after Christmas quitted the usual path, and, with Gist for his sole companion, steered by the compass for the fork. An Indian, who had lain in wait for him, fired at him from not fifteen steps' distance, but, missing him, became his prisoner. "I would have killed him," wrote Gist, "but Washington forbade." Dismissing their captive at night, they walked about half a mile, then kindled a

fire, fixed their course by the compass, and continued travelling all night, and all the next day, till quite dark. Only then did they "think themselves safe enough to sleep;" and they took their rest, with no shelter but the leafless forest-tree.

On reaching the Alleghany, with one poor hatchet and a whole day's work, a raft was constructed and launched. But, before they were half over the river, they were caught in the running ice. Putting out the setting-pole to stop the raft, Washington was jerked into the deep water, and saved himself only by grasping at the raft-logs. They were obliged to make for an island. There lay Washington imprisoned by the elements; but the December night was intensely cold, and in the morning he found the river frozen. Not till he reached Gist's settlement, in January 1754, were his toils lightened.

His report was followed by immediate activity. An officer, appointed by Dinwiddie, having enlisted about seventy men west of the mountains, to the great joy of the Indians, began building a fort at the mouth of the Monongahela, on ground which had already been occupied by the Ohio company. A French officer, appearing at Logstown, threatened death to the subordinates of the Six Nations, and to their English allies; and the speaker of the Indians retorted words of defiance. The Virginia house of burgesses, relying on the king to protect the boundary of his dominions, applied to that purpose a loan of ten thousand pounds, taking care to place the disbursement of the money under the superintendence of their own committee. Washington, who for a time had been stationed at Alexandria to enlist recruits, received from Dinwiddie a commission as lieutenant-colonel and orders, with one hundred and fifty men, to take command at the fork of the Ohio; "to finish the fort already begun there by the Ohio company;" and "to make prisoners, kill, or destroy all who interrupted the English settlements." Officers and men were promised two hundred thousand acres on the Ohio, to be divided among them.

North Carolina voted for the service twelve thousand pounds of its paper money, most of which was expended uselessly. Maryland accomplished nothing, for a diminution of the privileges of its proprietary was the condition on which

alone it was willing to give aid. Massachusetts, with the French on its eastern frontier and at Crown Point, voted neither money nor troops. Pennsylvania, like Maryland, fell into strife with its proprietaries, and, incensed at their parsimony, at that time perfected no grant, although the French were within its borders. In April, the assembly of New York voted a thousand pounds to Virginia, but declined assisting to repel the French from a post which lay within Pennsylvania. The assembly of New Jersey would not even send commissioners to a congress at Albany.

In England it was the "opinion of the greatest men" that the colonies should contribute jointly toward their defence. How to unite them occupied many minds on each side of the water. Glen, the governor of South Carolina, proposed a meeting, in Virginia, of all the continental governors, to adjust a quota from each colony for defence on the Ohio. "The assembly of this Dominion," observed Dinwiddie, "will not be directed what supplies to grant, and will always be guided by their own free determinations; they would think any restraint or direction an insult on their privileges, that they are so very fond of." "The house of burgesses," he complained, "were in a republican way of thinking;" no power within the colony could "bring them to order."

The province of Massachusetts had never intrusted its affairs to a set of men of so little wariness and foresight as the council and assembly of 1754. In an address to Shirley, their governor, they adopted recommendations of Hutchinson and Oliver. Soliciting the king, that the French forts within his territories might be removed, they said: "The French have but one interest; the English governments are disunited; some of them have their frontiers covered by their neighboring governments, and, not being immediately affected, seem unconcerned." "We are very sensible of the necessity of the colonies affording each other mutual assistance; and we make no doubt but this province will, at all times, with great cheerfulness, furnish their just and reasonable quota toward it." Shirley made use of these words to renew the advice which he had urged six years before. His counsels, which were now, in some sense, the echo of the thoughts of his superiors, were cited as conclu-

sive; and he repeatedly assured the ministry that, unless the king should himself determine for each colony its quota of men or money, and unless the colonies should be obliged, in some effectual manner, to conform to that determination, there could be no general plan for the defence of America.

"A gentle land-tax, being the most equitable, must be our last resort," said Kennedy, through the press of New York and of London. He looked to the congress at Albany with hope, but his dependence was on parliament; for "with parliament there would be no contending. And when their hands are in," he added, "they may lay the foundation of a regular government among us, by fixing a support for the officers of the crown, independent of an assembly?"

James Alexander, of New York, the same who, with the elder William Smith, had introduced the custom of granting but an annual support, thought that the British parliament should establish the duties for a colonial revenue, which the future American grand council, to be composed of deputies from all the provinces, should have no power to diminish. The members of the grand council may themselves become dangerous, reasoned the royalist Colden, who saw no mode of obtaining the necessary funds but by parliamentary taxation. But Franklin having for his motto, "Join or die," sketched to his friends the outline of a confederacy which should truly represent the whole American people.

The British ministry as yet did nothing but order the independent companies, stationed at New York and at Charleston, to take part in defence of western Virginia. But as soon as spring opened the western rivers, and before Washington could reach Will's creek, the French, led by Contrecœur, came down from Venango and summoned the English at the fork to surrender. Only thirty-three in number, they, on the seventeenth of April, capitulated and withdrew. Contrecœur occupied the post, which he fortified, and, from the governor of New France, named Duquesne. The near forest-trees were felled and burned; cabins of bark, for barracks, were built round the fort; and among the charred stumps wheat and maize sprung up where now is Pittsburg.

"Come to our assistance as soon as you can," was the mes-

sage sent by the half-king's wampum to Washington; "come soon, or we are lost, and shall never meet again. I speak it in the grief of my heart." And a belt in reply announced the approach of the half-king's "brother and friend." The raw recruits could advance but slowly, fording deep streams, and dragging their few cannon. In the cold and wet season, they were without tents, without a supply of clothes, often in want of provisions. On the twenty-fifth of May 1754, the half-king sent word: "Be on your guard; the French army intend to strike the first English whom they shall see."

The same day another report came, that the French were but eighteen miles distant, at the crossing of the Youghiogeny. Washington hurried to the Great Meadows, where, "with nature's assistance, he made a good intrenchment, and prepared" what he called "a charming field for an encounter." A small, light detachment, sent out on wagon-horses to reconnoitre, returned without being able to find any one. By the rules of wilderness warfare, a party that skulks and hides is an enemy. At night the little army was alarmed, and remained under arms from two o'clock till near sunrise. On the morning of the twenty-seventh, Gist arrived. He had seen the trail of the French within five miles of the American camp.

In the evening of that day, about nine o'clock, an express came from the half-king, that the armed body of the French was not far off. Through a heavy rain, in a night as dark as can be conceived, with but forty men, marching in single file along a most narrow trace, Washington groped his way to the camp of the half-king. After council, it was agreed to go hand in hand and strike the invaders. Two Indians, following the trail of the French, discovered their lodgement, away from the path, concealed among rocks. With the Mingo chiefs Washington made arrangements to come upon them by surprise. Perceiving the English approach, they ran to seize their arms. "Fire!" said Washington; and that word of command kindled the first great war of revolution.

An action of about a quarter of an hour ensued. The right wing, where Washington stood, received all the enemy's fire. One man was killed near him, and three others wounded. "I fortunately escaped without any wound," wrote Washington to

his brother; and in a postscript these words escaped him: "I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound." Ten of the French were killed, among them Jumonville, the commander of the party; and twenty-one were made prisoners. The dead were scalped by the Indians; and the chieftain, Monacawache, bore a scalp and a hatchet to each of the tribes of the Miamis, inviting them to go hand in hand with the Six Nations and the English.

While Washington was looking wistfully for aid from the banks of the Muskingum, the Miami, and the Wabash, from Maryland and Pennsylvania, from all the six provinces to which appeals had been made, no relief arrived. An independent company came, indeed, from South Carolina; but its captain, proud of his commission from the king, wrangled for precedence over the lieutenant-colonel of the Virginia regiment, and remained in idleness at Great Meadows "from one full moon to the other."

As the numbers of the French were constantly increasing, Washington, on the first day of July, fell back upon Fort Necessity, the rude stockade at Great Meadows. On the third, about noon, six hundred French, with one hundred Indians, came in sight, and from sheltered positions fired on the Virginians. For nine hours, in a heavy rain, the fire was returned. After thirty of the English and but three of the French had been killed, De Villiers, fearing his ammunition would give out, proposed a parley. Terms for the cessation of hostilities were interpreted to Washington, who did not understand French; and, as interpreted, were accepted. On the fourth, the English garrison, retaining all its effects, but leaving hostages, withdrew from the basin of the Ohio. In the valley of the Mississippi no standard floated but that of France.

Hope might dawn from Albany. There, on the nineteenth day of June 1754, assembled the memorable congress of commissioners from every colony north of the Potomac. The Virginia government was represented by the presiding officer, Delancey, the lieutenant-governor of New York. They met to concert measures of defence, and to treat with the Six Nations and the tribes in their alliance. America had never seen an assembly so venerable for the states that were represented, or

for the great and able men who composed it. Every voice declared a union of all the colonies to be absolutely necessary; and the experienced Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, proud of having rescued that colony from thraldom to paper money; Hopkins, a patriot of Rhode Island; the wise and faithful Pitkin, of Connecticut; Tasker, of Maryland; the liberal Smith, of New York; and Franklin, the most benignant of statesmen—were deputed to prepare a constitution for a perpetual confederacy of the continent; but Franklin had already "projected" a plan, and had brought the heads of it with him.

The representatives of the Six Nations assembled tardily, but urged union and action. They accepted the tokens of peace; they agreed to look upon "Virginia and Carolina" as present. "You desired us to open our minds and hearts to you," said Hendrick, the great Mohawk chief. "Look at the French; they are men; they are fortifying everywhere. But, we are ashamed to say it, you are like women, without any fortifications. It is but one step from Canada hither, and the French may easily come and turn you out of doors."

The distrust of the Six Nations was still stronger than was expressed. Though presents in unusual abundance had been provided, and a general invitation had been given, but one hundred and fifty warriors appeared. Half of the Onondagas had withdrawn, and joined the settlement formed at Oswegatchie under French auspices. Even Mohawks went to the delegates from Massachusetts to complain that the ground on which they slept, and where burned the fires by which they sat, had never been sold, but had yet been surveyed and stolen from them in the night. The lands on the Ohio they called their own; and, as Connecticut, whose jurisdiction, by its charter, extended west to the Pacific, was claiming a part of Pennsylvania, they advised the respective claimants to remain at peace.

The red men having held their last council, and the congress, by its president, having spoken to them farewell, the discussion of the federative compact was renewed; and, the project of Franklin being accepted, he was deputed alone to make a draught of it. On the tenth day of July, he produced the finished plan of perpetual union, which was read paragraph by paragraph, and debated all day long.

The seat of the proposed federal government was to be Philadelphia, a central city, which it was thought could be reached even from New Hampshire or South Carolina in fifteen or twenty days. The constitution was a compromise between the prerogative and popular power. The king was to name and to support a governor-general, who should have a negative on all laws; the people of the colonies, through their legislatures, were to elect triennially a grand council, which alone could originate bills. Each colony was to send a number of members in proportion to its contributions, yet not less than two, nor more than seven. The governor-general was to nominate military officers, subject to the advice of the council, which, in turn, was to nominate all civil officers. No money was to be issued but by their joint order. Each colony was to retain its domestic constitution; the federal government was to regulate all relations of peace or war with the Indians, affairs of trade, and purchases of lands not within the bounds of particular colonies; to establish, organize, and temporarily to govern new settlements; to raise soldiers, and equip vessels of force on the seas, rivers, or lakes; to make laws, and levy just and equal taxes. The grand council were to meet once a year, to choose their own speaker, and neither to be dissolved nor prorogued, nor to continue sitting longer than six weeks at any one time, but by their own consent.

The most sedulous friend of union, and "the principal hand in forming the plan," was Benjamin Franklin. Almost every article was contested by one or another. His warmest supporters were the delegates from New England, yet Connecticut feared the negative power of the governor-general. On the royalist side, none opposed but Delancey. He would have reserved to the colonial governors a negative on all elections to the grand council; but it was answered that the colonies would then be virtually taxed by a congress of governors. The sources of revenue suggested in debate were a duty on spirits and a general stamp-tax. At length, after much debate, in which Franklin manifested consummate address, the commissioners agreed on the proposed confederacy "pretty unanimously." "It is not altogether to my mind," said Franklin, giving an account of the result, "but it is as I could get it;"

and copies were ordered, that every member might "lay the plan of union before his constituents for consideration;" and a copy be transmitted to the governor of each colony not represented in the congress.

New England colonies in their infancy had given birth to a confederacy. William Penn, in 1697, had proposed an annual congress of all the provinces on the continent of America, with power to regulate commerce. Franklin breathed life into the great idea. The people of New York thronged about him to welcome him as the mover of American union.

Yet the system was not altogether acceptable either to Great Britain or to America. The fervid attachment of each colony to its own individual liberties repelled the overruling influence of a central power. Connecticut rejected it; even New York showed it little favor, and Pennsylvania disliked it; Massachusetts charged her agent to oppose it. The board of trade, on receiving the minutes of the congress, were astonished at a plan of general government "complete in itself." Reflecting men in England dreaded American union as the key-stone of independence.

But, in the mind of Franklin, the union assumed still more majestic proportions, and comprehended "the great country back of the Appalachian Mountains." He directed attention to the extreme richness of its land, the healthy temperature of its air, the mildness of its climate, and the vast convenience of inland navigation by the lakes and rivers. "In less than a century," said he, "it must become a populous and powerful dominion." And through Thomas Pownall, who had been present at Albany during the deliberations of the congress, he advised the immediate organization of two new colonies in the West, with powers of self direction and government like those of Connecticut and Rhode Island: the one on Lake Erie, the other with its capital on the banks of the Scioto.

The freedom of the American colonies, their union, and their extension through the West, became the three objects of the remaining years of Franklin. Heaven, in its mercy, gave the illustrious statesman length of days, so that he witnessed the fulfilment of his designs.

CHAPTER VI.

THE OLD THIRTEEN COLONIES. NEWCASTLE'S ADMINISTRATION.

1754.

In 1754, David Hume, who had discovered the hollowness of the prevailing systems of thought in Europe, yet without offering any better philosophy than a selfish ideal skepticism, or hoping for any other euthanasia to the British constitution than its absorption in monarchy, said of America, in words which he never need have erased, and in a spirit which he never disavowed: "The seeds of many a noble state have been sown in climates kept desolate by the wild manners of the ancient inhabitants, and an asylum is secured in that solitary world for liberty and science." The thirteen American colonies, of which the union was projected, contained, at that day, about one million one hundred and sixty-five thousand white inhabitants, and two hundred and sixty-three thousand negroes: in all, one million four hundred and twenty-eight thousand souls. The board of trade reckoned a few thousands more, and revisers of their judgment less.

Of persons of European ancestry, perhaps fifty thousand dwelt in New Hampshire, two hundred and seven thousand in Massachusetts, thirty-five thousand in Rhode Island, and one hundred and thirty-three thousand in Connecticut; in New England, therefore, four hundred and twenty-five thousand souls.

Of the middle colonies, New York may have had eighty-five thousand; New Jersey, seventy-three thousand; Pennsylvania, with Delaware, one hundred and ninety-five thousand; Maryland, one hundred and four thousand: in all, not far from four hundred and fifty-seven thousand.

In the southern provinces, where the mild climate invited emigrants into the interior, and where the crown lands were often occupied on mere warrants of surveys or even without warrants, there was room for glaring mistakes in the enumerations. To Virginia may be assigned one hundred and sixty-eight thousand white inhabitants; to North Carolina, scarcely less than seventy thousand; to South Carolina, forty thousand; to Georgia, not more than five thousand; to the whole country south of the Potomac, two hundred and eighty-three thousand.*

* The representation of the board to the king, founded in part on muster-rolls and returns of taxables, included Nova Scotia, and, according to Chalmers in the "History of the Revolt," estimated the population of British Continental America, in 1754, at

1,192,896 whites,
292,738 blacks,

1,485,634 souls.

Thomas Pownall, whose brother was secretary to the board of trade, adhering more closely to the lists as they were made out, states the amount, for the thirteen colonies, at one million two hundred and fifty thousand. See a memorial most humbly addressed to the sovereigns of Europe on the present state of affairs between the Old and the New World. The report of the board of trade on the twenty-ninth of August 1755, constructed in part from conjecture, makes the whole number of white inhabitants one million and sixty-two thousand. Shirley, in a letter to Sir Thomas Robinson, fifteenth of August 1755, writes that "the inhabitants may be now set at one million two hundred thousand whites at least. The estimate in the text rests on the consideration of many details and opinions of that day, private journals and letters, reports to the board of trade, and official papers of the provincial governments. Nearly all are imperfect. The greatest discrepancy in judgments relates to Pennsylvania and the Carolinas. He who, like Henry C. Carey, in his "Principles of Political Economy," part iii., 25, will construct retrospectively general tables from the rule of increase in America, since 1790, will err very little. From many returns and computations the annexed table is deduced, as some approximation to exactness:

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM 1750 TO 1790.

	White.	Black.	Total.
1750,	1,040,000,	220,000,	1,260,000.
1754,	1,165,000,	260,000,	1,425,000.
1760,	1,385,000,	310,000,	1,695,000.
1770,	1,850,000,	462,000,	2,312,000.
1780,	2,383,000,	562,000,	2,945,000.
1790,	3,177,257,	752,069,	3,929,326.

The estimates of the board of trade in 1714, on the accession of George the First, in 1727, on that of George the Second, and in 1754, were, according to Chalmers,

	White.	Black.	Total.
1714,	375,750,	58,850,	434,600.
1727,	502,000,	78,000,	580,000.
1754,	1,192,896,	292,738,	1,485,634.

The white population of any one of five, or perhaps even of six, of the American provinces, was greater, singly, than that of all Canada; and the aggregate in America exceeded that in Canada fourteen-fold.

Of persons of African lineage the home was chiefly determined by climate. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Maine may have had six thousand negroes; Rhode Island, four thousand five hundred; Connecticut, three thousand five hundred: all New England, therefore, about fourteen thousand.

New York alone had not far from eleven thousand; New Jersey, about half that number; Pennsylvania, with Delaware, eleven thousand; Maryland, forty-four thousand: the central colonies, collectively, seventy-one thousand.

In Virginia, there were not less than one hundred and sixteen thousand; in North Carolina, perhaps more than twenty thousand; in South Carolina, full forty thousand; in Georgia, about two thousand: so that the country south of the Potomac may have had one hundred and seventy-eight thousand.

Of the southern group, Georgia, the asylum of misfortune, had been languishing under a corporation whose action had not equalled the benevolence of its designs. The council of its trustees had granted no legislative rights to those whom they assumed to protect, but, meeting at a London tavern, by their own power imposed taxes on its Indian trade. Industry was disheartened by the entail of freeholds; summer, extending through months not its own, engendered pestilent vapors from the lowlands, as they were first opened to the sun; American silk was admitted into London duty free, but the wants of the wilderness left no leisure to feed the silk-worm and reel its thread; nor was the down of the cotton-plant as yet a staple; the indigent, for whom charity had proposed a refuge, murmured at an exile that had its sorrows; the few men of substance withdrew to Carolina. In December 1751, the trustees unanimously desired to surrender their charter; and, with the approbation of the great lawyer Murray, all authority for two years emanated from the king alone. In 1754, when the first royal governor with a royal council entered upon office, a legislative assembly convened under the sanction of his commission. The crown instituted the courts, and appointed execu-

tive officers and judges, with fixed salaries paid by England; but the people, through its representative body, and the precedents of older colonies, gained vigor in its infancy to restrain every form of delegated power.

The people of South Carolina had used every method of encroaching on the executive, but they did not excite English jealousy by manufactures or large illicit trade; and British legislation was ever lenient to their interests. In favor of rice, the laws of navigation were mitigated; the planting of indigo, like the production of naval stores, was cherished by a bounty from the British exchequer; and they thought it in return no hardship to receive through England even foreign manufactures, which, by the system of partial drawbacks, came to them burdened with a tax, yet at a less cost than to the consumer in the metropolis. They had desired and had obtained the presence of troops to intimidate the wild tribes on their frontiers, and to overawe their slaves. The people were yeomen, owing the king small quit-rents, which could never be rigorously exacted; the royal domain was granted on easy terms; and who would disturb the adventurer that, at his own will, built his cabin and pastured his herds in savannas and forests which had never been owned in severalty? The slave-merchant supplied laborers on credit. Free from excessive taxation, protected by soldiers in British pay, the frugal planter enjoyed the undivided returns of his enterprise, and might double his capital in three or four years. The love for rural life prevailed universally; the thrifty mechanic abandoned his workshop, the merchant the risks of the sea, to plant estates of their own.

North Carolina, with nearly twice as many white inhabitants as its southern neighbor, had not one considerable village. Its swamps near the sea produced rice; its alluvial lands teemed with maize; free labor, little aided by negroes, drew turpentine and tar from the pines of its white, sandy plains; a rapidly increasing people lay scattered among its fertile uplands. There, through the boundless wilderness, emigrants, careless of the strifes of Europe, ignorant of deceit, free from tithes, answerable to no master, fearlessly occupied lands that seemed without an owner. Their swine

had the range of the forest; the greenwood was the pasture of their untold herds. Their young men trolled along the brooks that abounded in fish, and took their sleep under the forest-tree; or trapped the beaver; or, with gun and pouch, lay in wait for the deer, as it slaked its thirst at the running stream; or, in small parties, roved the spurs of the Alleghanies, in quest of marketable skins. When Arthur Dobbs, the royal governor, an author of some repute, insisted on introducing the king's prerogative, the legislature did not scruple to leave the government unprovided for. When he attempted to establish the Anglican church, they were ready to welcome the institution of public worship, if their own vestries might choose their ministers. When he sought to collect quit-rents from a people who were nearly all tenants of the king, they deferred indefinitely the adjustment of the rent-roll.

For the Carolinas and for Virginia, as well as other royal governments, the king, under his sign manual, appointed the governor and the council; these constituted a court of chancery; the provincial judges, selected by the king or the royal governor, held office at the royal pleasure; for the courts of vice-admiralty, the lords of the admiralty named a judge, register, and marshal; the commissioners of the customs appointed the comptrollers and the collectors, of whom one was stationed at each considerable harbor; the justices and the militia officers were named by the governor in council. The freeholders elected but one branch of the legislature; and here, as in every royal government, the council formed another. In Virginia there was less strife than elsewhere between the executive and the assembly: partly because the king had a permanent revenue from quit-rents and perpetual grants; partly because the governor resided in England, and was careful that his deputy should not hazard his sinecure by controversy. In consequence, the council, by its weight of personal character, gained unusual influence. The church of England was supported by legislative authority, and the plebeian sects were as yet proscribed; but the great extent of the parishes prevented unity of public worship. Bedford, when in office, had favored the appointment of an Anglican bishop

in America; but, as his decisive opinion and the importunities of Sherlock and Secker had not prevailed, the benefices were filled by priests ordained in England, and for the most part of English birth. The province had not one large town; the scattered mode of life made the system of free schools not easily practicable. Sometimes the sons of wealthy planters repaired to Europe; here and there a man of great learning, some Scottish loyalist, some exile around whom misfortune spread a mystery, sought safety and gave instruction in Virginia. The country within tide-water was divided among planters, who, in the culture of tobacco, were favored by British legislation. Insulated on their large estates, they were cordially hospitable. In the quiet of their solitary life, unaided by an active press, they learned from nature what others caught from philosophy—to reason boldly. The horse was their pride; the county courts, their holidays; the race-course, their delight. On permitting the increase of negro slavery, opinions were nearly equally divided; but England kept slave-marts open at every court-house, as far, at least, as the South-west Mountain: partly to enrich her slave-merchants; partly, by balancing the races, to weaken the power of colonial resistance. The industry of the Virginians did not compete with that of the mother country; they had few mariners, took no part in the fisheries, and built no ships for sale. British factors purchased their products and furnished their supplies, and fixed the price of both. Their connection with the metropolis was more intimate than with the northern colonies. England was their market and their storehouse, and was still called their home.

Yet the prerogative had little support in Virginia. Its assembly sent, when it would, its own special agent to England, elected the colonial treasurer, and conducted its deliberations with dignity. Among the inhabitants, the pride of individual freedom paralyzed royal influence. They were the more independent because they were the oldest colony, the most numerous, the most opulent, and, in territory, by far the most extensive. The property of the crown in its unascertained domain was admitted, yet they easily framed theories that invested the rightful ownership in the colony itself. Its

people spread more and more widely over the mild, productive, and enchanting interior. They ascended rivers to the valleys of its mountain ranges, where the red soil bore wheat luxuriantly. Among the half-opened forests of Orange county, in a home of plenty, there sported on the lawn the child Madison, round whom clustered the hopes of American union. On the highlands of Albemarle, Thomas Jefferson, son of a surveyor, dwelt on the skirt of forest life, with no intercepting range of hills between his dwelling-place and the far distant ocean. Beyond the Blue Ridge, men came from the glades of Pennsylvania; of most various nations, Irish, Scottish, and German; ever in strife with the royal officers; occupying lands without allotment, or on mere warrants of survey, without patents or payment of quit-rents. Everywhere in Virginia the sentiment of individuality was the parent of its republicanism.

North of the Potomac, at the centre of America, were the proprietary governments of Maryland and of Pennsylvania, with Delaware. There the king had no officers but in the customs and the admiralty courts; his name was scarcely known in the acts of government.

During the last war, Maryland enjoyed unbroken quiet, furnishing no levies of men for the army, and very small contributions of money. Its legislature hardly looked beyond its own internal affairs, and its growth in numbers proved its prosperity. The youthful Frederic, Lord Baltimore, sixth of that title, dissolute and riotous, fond of wine to madness and of women to folly, as a prince zealous for prerogative, though negligent of business, was the sole landlord of the province. On acts of legislation, to him belonged a triple veto, by his council, by his deputy, and by himself. He established courts and appointed all their officers; punished convicted offenders, or pardoned them; appointed at pleasure councillors, all officers of the colony, and all the considerable county officers; and possessed exclusively the unappropriated domain. Reserving choice lands for his own manors, he had the whole people for his tenants on quit-rents, which, in 1754, exceeded twenty-five thousand dollars a year, and were rapidly increasing. On every new grant from the wild domain he received caution money;

his were all escheats, wardships, and fruits of the feudal tenures. Fines of alienation, though abolished in England, were paid for his benefit on every transfer, and fines upon devises were still exacted. He enjoyed a perpetual port duty of fourteen-pence a ton, on vessels not owned in the province, yielding not far from five thousand dollars a year; and he exacted a tribute for licenses to hawkers and pedlers, and to ordinaries.

These were the private income of Lord Baltimore. For the public service he needed no annual grants. By an act of 1704, which was held to be permanent, an export tax of a shilling on every hogshead of tobacco gave an annually increasing income of already not much less than seven thousand dollars, more than enough for the salary of his lieutenant-governor; while other officers were paid by fees and perquisites. Thus the assembly scarcely had occasion to impose taxes, except for the wages of its own members.

Besides the untrammelled power of appointing colonial officers, Lord Baltimore, as prince palatine, could raise his liegemen to defend his province. His was also the power to pass ordinances for the preservation of order, to erect towns and cities, to grant titles of honor, and his the advowson of every benefice. The colonial act of 1702 had divided Maryland into parishes, and established the Anglican church by an annual tax of forty pounds of tobacco on every poll. The parishes were about forty in number, increasing in value, some of them promising a thousand pounds sterling a year. Thus the lewd Lord Baltimore had more church patronage than any landholder in England; and, as there was no bishop in America, ruffians, fugitives from justice, men stained by intemperance and lust (I write with caution, the distinct allegations being before me), nestled themselves, through his corrupt and easy nature, in the parishes of Maryland.

The king had reserved no right of revising the laws of Maryland; nor could he invalidate them, except as they should be found repugnant to those of England. The royal power was by charter restrained "from imposing, or causing to be imposed, any customs or other taxations, quotas, or contributions whatsoever, within the province, or upon any merchandise, while being laden or unladen in its ports." Of its people,

about one twelfth were Roman Catholics; and these suffered the burden of double taxation.

In Pennsylvania, with the counties on Delaware, the people, whose numbers appeared to double in sixteen years, were already the masters, and to dispute their authority was but to introduce an apparent anarchy. Of the noble territory, the joint proprietors were Thomas and Richard Penn, the former holding three quarters of the whole. Inheritance might subdivide it indefinitely. The political power that had been bequeathed to them brought little personal dignity or benefit.

The lieutenant-governor had a negative on legislation; but he depended on the assembly for his annual support, and had often to choose between compliance and poverty. To the council, whom the proprietaries appointed, and to the proprietaries themselves, the right to revise legislative acts was denied; and long usage confirmed the denial. The legislature had but one branch, and of that branch Benjamin Franklin was the soul. It had an existence of its own; could meet on its own adjournments, and no power could prorogue or dissolve it; but a swift responsibility brought its members annually before their constituents. The assembly would not allow the proprietaries in England to name judges; they were to be named by the lieutenant-governor on the spot, and, like him, depended for their salaries on the yearly vote of the assembly. All sheriffs and coroners were chosen by the people. Moneys were raised by an excise, and were kept and were disbursed by provincial commissioners. The land-office was under proprietary control; and, to balance its political influence, the assembly kept the loan-office of paper money under their own supervision.

The laws established for Pennsylvania complete enfranchisement in the domain of thought. Its able press developed the principles of civil rights; its chief city cherished science; and, by private munificence, a ship, at the instance of Franklin, had attempted to discover the north-western passage. A library, too, was endowed, and an academy chartered. No oaths or tests barred the avenue to public posts. The church of England, unaided by law, competed with all forms of dissent. The Presbyterians, who were willing to fight for their liberties,

began to balance the men who were prepared to suffer for them. Yet the Quakers, humblest among plebeian sects, and boldest of them all—disjoined from the middle age without even a shred or a mark of its bonds; abolishing not the aristocracy of the sword only, but all war; not prelacy and priestcraft only, but outward symbols and ordinances, external sacraments and forms—pure spiritualists, and apostles of the power and the freedom of mind, still swayed legislation and public opinion. Ever restless under authority, they were jealous of the new generation of proprietaries who had fallen off from their society, regulated the government with a view to their own personal profit, and shunned taxation of their colonial estates.

New Jersey, now a royal government, enjoyed, with the aged Belcher, comparative tranquillity. He parried for them the oppressive disposition of the board of trade, and the rapacity of the great claimants of lands who held seats in the council. "I have to steer," he would say, "between Scylla and Charybdis; to please the king's ministers at home, and a touchy people here; to luff for one, and bear away for another." Sheltered by its position, New Jersey refused to share the expense of Indian alliances, often left its own annual expenses unprovided for, and its obstinate enthusiasts awaited the completion of the prophecies that "nation shall not lift up sword against nation."

There, too, on the banks of the Delaware, John Woolman, a tailor by trade, "stood up like a trumpet, through which the Lord speaks to his people," to make the negro masters sensible of the evil of holding the people of Africa in slavery; and, by his testimony at the meetings of Friends, recommended that oppressed part of the creation to the notice of each individual and of the society.

"Though we make slaves of the negroes, and the Turks make slaves of the Christians," so he persistently taught, "liberty is the natural right of all men equally." "The slaves look to me like a burdensome stone to such who burden themselves with them. The burden will grow heavier and heavier till times change in a way disagreeable to us." "It may be just," observed one of his hearers, "for the Almighty so to

order it." It was a matter fixed in his mind, that this trade of importing slaves, and way of life in keeping them, were dark gloominess hanging over the land. "The consequences would be grievous to posterity." Therefore he went about persuading men that "the practice of continuing slavery was not right;" and he endeavored "to raise an idea of a general brotherhood." Masters of negroes on both banks of the Delaware began the work of setting them free, "because they had no contract for their labor, and liberty was their right." A general epistle from the yearly meeting of Friends, in 1754, declared it to be their "concern" to bear testimony against the iniquitous practice of slave-dealing, and to warn their members against making any purchase of slaves.

New York was at this time the central point of political interest. Its position invited it to foster American union. Having the most convenient harbor on the Atlantic, with bays expanding on either hand, and a navigable river penetrating the interior, it held the keys of Canada and the lakes. The forts at Crown Point and Niagara were encroachments upon its limits. Its unsurveyed inland frontier, sweeping round on the north, disputed with New Hampshire the land between Lake Champlain and the Connecticut, and extended into unmeasured distances in the west. Within its bosom, at Onondaga, burned the council-fire of the Six Nations, whose irregular bands had seated themselves near Montreal, on the northern shore of Ontario, and on the Ohio; whose hunters roamed over the North-west and the West. Here were concentrated by far the most important Indian relations, round which the idea of a general union was shaping itself into a reality. It was to still the hereditary warfare of the Six Nations with the southern Indians that South Carolina and Massachusetts first met at Albany; it was to confirm friendship with them and their allies that New England and all the central states but New Jersey had assembled in congress.

England never possessed the affection of the country which it had acquired by conquest. British officials sent home complaints of "the Dutch republicans" as disloyal. The descendants of the Huguenot refugees were taunted with their origin, and invited to accept English liberties as a boon. Nowhere

was the collision between the royal governor and the colonial assembly so violent or so inveterate; nowhere had the legislature, by its method of granting money, so nearly exhausted and appropriated to itself all executive authority; nowhere had the relations of the province to Great Britain been more sharply controverted. The board of trade esteemed the provincial legislature to rest for its existence on acts of the royal prerogative, while the people looked upon their representatives as existing by an inherent right, and co-ordinate with the British house of commons.

The laws of trade excited still more resistance. Why should a people, of whom one half were of foreign ancestry, be cut off from all the world but England? Why must the children of Holland be debarred from the ports of the Netherlands? Why must their ships seek the produce of Europe, and, by a later law, the produce of Asia, in English harbors alone? Why were negro slaves the only considerable object of foreign commerce which England did not compel to be first landed on its shores? The British restrictive system was transgressed by all America, but most of all by New York, the child of the Netherlands. Especially the British ministry had been invited, in 1752, to observe that, while the consumption of tea was annually increasing in America, the export from England was decreasing; and, meantime, the little island of St. Eustatius, a heap of rocks but two leagues in length by one in breadth, without a rivulet or a spring, gathered in its storehouses the products of Holland, of the Orient, of the world; and its harbor was more and more filled with fleets of colonial trading-vessels, which, if need were, completed their cargoes by entering the French islands with Dutch papers. Under the British statutes, which made the commercial relations of America to England not a union, but a bondage, America bought of England hardly more than she would have done on the system of freedom; and this small advantage was dearly purchased by the ever-increasing cost of cruisers, custom-house officers, and vice-admiralty courts, and the discontent of the merchants.

The large landholders were jealous of British authority, which threatened to bound their pretensions, or question their

titles, or, through parliament, to burden them with a land-tax. The lawyers of the colony, chiefly Presbyterians, and educated in Connecticut, joined heartily with the merchants and the great proprietors to resist every encroachment from England. In no province was the near approach of independence discerned so clearly, or so openly predicted.

New York had been settled under large patents of lands to individuals; New England, under grants to towns; and the institution of towns was its glory and its strength. The inhabited part of Massachusetts was recognised as divided into little territories, each of which, for its internal purposes, constituted an integral government, free from supervision; having power to choose annually its own officers; to hold meetings of all freemen at its pleasure; to discuss in those meetings any subject of public interest; to see that every able-bodied man within its precincts was enrolled in the militia and provided with arms, ready for immediate use; to elect and to instruct its representatives; to raise and appropriate money for the support of the ministry, of schools, of highways, of the poor, and for defraying other necessary expenses within the town. It was incessantly deplored, by royalists of later days, that the law which confirmed these liberties had received the unreflecting sanction of William III., and the most extensive interpretation in practice. Boston, on more than one occasion, ventured in town-meeting to appoint its own agent to present a remonstrance to the board of trade. New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Maine which was a part of Massachusetts, had similar regulations; so that all New England was an aggregate of organized democracies. But the complete development of the institution was to be found in Connecticut and the Massachusetts bay. There each township was substantially a territorial parish; the town was the religious congregation; the independent church was established by law; the minister was elected by the people, who annually made grants for his support. There the system of free schools was carried to such perfection that an adult born in New England and unable to write and read could not be found. He that will understand the political character of New England in the eighteenth century must study the

constitution of its towns, its congregations, its schools, and its militia.

Yet in these democracies the hope of independence, as a near event, had not dawned; the inhabitants still clung with persevering affection to the land of their ancestry, and their language. They were of homogeneous origin, nearly all tracing their descent to English emigrants of the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II. They were frugal and industrious. Along the sea-side, wherever there was a good harbor, fishermen, familiar with the ocean, gathered in hamlets; and each returning season saw them, with an ever-increasing number of mariners and vessels, taking the cod and mackerel, and sometimes pursuing the whale into the northern seas. At Boston a society was formed for promoting domestic manufactures: on one of its anniversaries, three hundred young women appeared on the common, clad in homespun, seated in a triple row, each with a spinning-wheel, and each busily transferring the flax from the distaff to the spool. The town built "a manufacturing house," and there were bounties to encourage the workers in linen. How the board of trade were alarmed at the news! How they censured Shirley for not having frowned on the business! How committees of the house of commons examined witnesses, and made proposals for prohibitory laws, till the Boston manufacturing house, designed to foster home industry, fell into decay! Of slavery there was not enough to affect the character of the people, except in the south-east of Rhode Island, where Newport was conspicuous for engaging in the slave-trade; and where, in two or three towns, negroes composed even a third of the inhabitants.

In the settlements which grew up in the interior, on the margin of the greenwood, the plain meeting-house of the congregation for public worship was everywhere the central point; near it stood the public school. The snug farm-houses, owned as freeholds, without quit-rents, were dotted along the way. In every hand was the Bible; every home was a house of prayer; all had been taught, many had comprehended, a methodical theory of the divine purpose in creation, and of the destiny of man.

Child of the reformation, closely connected with the past

centuries and with the greatest intellectual struggles of mankind, New England had been planted by enthusiasts who feared no sovereign but God. In the universal degeneracy and ruin of the Roman world, Augustine, the African bishop, with a heart of fire, confident that, though Rome tottered, the hope of man would endure, rescued from the wreck of the Old World the truths that would renew humanity, and sheltered them in the cloister.

After the sorrows of a thousand years, rose up an Augustine monk, he too having a heart of flame. At his bidding, truth leaped over the cloister walls, and challenged every man to make her his guest; aroused every intelligence to acts of private judgment; changed a dependent, recipient people into a reflecting, inquiring people; lifted each human being out of the castes of the middle age, to endow him with individuality; and summoned man to stand forth as man. The world heaved with the fervent conflict of opinion. The people and their guides recognised the dignity of labor; the oppressed peasantry took up arms for liberty; men reverenced and exercised the freedom of the soul. The breath of the new spirit revived Poland, animated Germany, swayed the North; and the inquisition of Spain could not silence its whispers among the mountains of the peninsula. It invaded France; and, though bonfires of heretics, by way of warning, were lighted at the gates of Paris, it infused itself into the French mind, and led to unwonted free discussions. Exile could not quench it. On the banks of the Lake of Geneva, Calvin stood forth the boldest reformer of his day; not personally engaging in political intrigues, yet, by promulgating great ideas, forming the seed-plot of revolution; acknowledging no sacrament of ordination but the choice of the laity, no patent of nobility but that of the elect of God, with its seals of eternity.

Luther's was still a Catholic religion: it sought to instruct all, to confirm all, to sanctify all; and so, under the shelter of princes, it gave established forms to Protestant Germany, and Sweden, and Denmark, and England. But Calvin taught an exclusive doctrine, which, though it addressed itself to all, rested only on the chosen. Lutheranism was, therefore, not a

political party; it included prince and noble and peasant. Calvinism was revolutionary; wherever it came, it created division; its symbol, as set upon the "Institutes" of its teacher, was a flaming sword. By the side of the eternal mountains and perennial snows and arrowy rivers of Switzerland it was faithful to a religion without a prelate, a government without a king. Fortified by its faith in fixed decrees, it kept possession of its homes among the Alps. It grew powerful in France, and, between the feudal nobility and the crown, invigorated the long contest, which did not end till the subjection of the nobility, through the central despotism, prepared the ruin of that despotism, by promoting the equality of the commons. It entered Holland, inspiring an industrious nation with heroic enthusiasm, enfranchising and uniting provinces, and making burghers, and weavers, and artisans, victors over Spanish chivalry, the power of the inquisition, and the pretended majesty of kings. It penetrated Scotland, and, while its whirlwind bore persuasion among glens and mountains, it shrunk from no danger, and hesitated at no ambition; it nerved its rugged but hearty envoy to resist the flatteries of Queen Mary; it assumed the education of her only son; it divided the nobility; it penetrated the masses, overturned the ancient ecclesiastical establishment, planted the free parochial school, and gave a living energy to the principle of liberty in a people. It infused itself into England, and placed its plebeian sympathies in daring resistance to the courtly hierarchy; dissenting from dissent, longing to introduce the reign of righteousness, it invited every man to read the Bible, and made itself dear to the common mind, by teaching, as a divine revelation, the unity of the race and the natural equality of man; it claimed for itself freedom of utterance, and through the pulpit, in eloquence imbued with the authoritative words of prophets and apostles, spoke to the whole congregation; it sought new truth, denying the sanctity of the continuity of tradition; it stood up against the middle age and its forms in church and state, hating them with a fierce and unquenchable hatred.

Imprisoned, maimed, oppressed at home, its independent converts in Great Britain looked beyond the Atlantic for a better world. Their energetic passion was nurtured by trust

in the divine protection, their power of will was safely intrenched in their own vigorous creed; and under the banner of the gospel, with the fervid and enduring love of the myriads who in Europe adopted the stern simplicity of the discipline of Calvin, they sailed for the wilderness, far away from "popery and prelacy," from the traditions of the church, from hereditary power, from the sovereignty of an earthly king—from all dominion but the Bible, and "what arose from natural reason and the principles of equity."

The ideas which had borne the New England emigrants to this transatlantic world were polemic and republican in their origin and their tendency. Against the authority of the church of the middle ages Calvin arrayed the authority of the Bible; the time was come to connect religion and philosophy, and show the harmony between faith and reason. Against the feudal aristocracy, the plebeian reformer summoned the spotless nobility of the elect, foreordained from the beginning of the world; but New England, which had no hereditary caste to beat down, ceased to make predestination its ruling idea, and, maturing a character of its own, "Saw love attractive every system bind." The transition had taken place from the haughtiness of self-assertion against the pride of feudalism, to the adoption of love as the benign spirit which was to animate the new teachings in politics and religion.

From God were derived its theories of ontology, of ethics, of science, of happiness, of human perfectibility, and of human liberty.

God himself, wrote Jonathan Edwards, is, "in effect, universal Being." Nature in its amplitude is but "an emanation of his own infinite fulness;" a flowing forth and expression of himself in objects of his benevolence. In everything there is a calm, sweet cast of divine glory. He comprehends "all entity and all excellence in his own essence." Creation proceeded from a disposition in the fulness of Divinity to flow out and diffuse its existence. The infinite Being is Being in general. His existence, as it is infinite, comprehends universal existence. There are and there can be no beings distinct and independent. God is "All and alone."

The glory of God is the ultimate end of moral goodness,

which in the creature is love to the Creator. Virtue consists in public affection or general benevolence. But as in the New England mind God included universal being, so to love God included love to all that exists; and was, therefore, in opposition to selfishness, the sum of all morality, the universal benevolence comprehending all righteousness.

God is the fountain of light and knowledge, so that truth in man is but a conformity to God; knowledge in man, but "the image of God's own knowledge of himself." Nor is there a motive to repress speculative inquiry. "There is no need," said Edwards, "that the strict philosophic truth should be at all concealed from men." "The more clearly and fully the true system of the universe is known, the better." Nor can any outward authority rule the mind; the revelations of God, being emanations from the infinite fountain of knowledge, have certainty and reality; they accord with reason and common sense; and give direct, intuitive, and all-conquering evidence of their divinity.

God is the source of happiness. His angels minister to his servants; the vast multitudes of his enemies are as great heaps of light chaff before the whirlwind. Against his enemies the bow of God's wrath is bent, and the arrow made ready on the string; and justice bends the arrow at their heart and strains the bow. God includes all being and all holiness. Enmity with him is enmity with all true life and power; an infinite evil, fraught with infinite and endless woe. To exist in union with him is the highest well-being, that shall increase in glory and joy throughout eternity.

God is his own chief end in creation. But, as he includes all being, his glory includes the glory and the perfecting of the universe. The whole human race, throughout its entire career of existence, hath oneness and identity, and "constitutes one complex person," "one moral whole." The glory of God includes the redemption and glory of humanity. From the moment of creation to the final judgment, it is all one work. Every event which has swayed "the state of the world of mankind," "all its revolutions," proceed, as it was determined, toward "the glorious time that shall be in the latter days," when the new shall be more excellent than the old.

God is the absolute sovereign, doing according to his will in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants on earth. Scorning the thought of free agency as breaking the universe of action into countless fragments, the greatest number in New England held that every volition, even of the humblest of the people, is obedient to the fixed decrees of Providence, and participates in eternity.

Yet, while the common mind of New England was inspired by the great thought of the sole sovereignty of God, it did not lose personality and human freedom in pantheistic fatalism. Like Augustine, who made war both on Manicheans and Pelagians; like the Stoics, whose morals it most nearly resembled, it asserted by just dialectics, or, as some would say, by a sublime inconsistency, the power of the individual will. In every action it beheld the union of the motive and volition. The action, it saw, was according to the strongest motive; and it knew that what proves the strongest motive depends on the character of the will. The Calvinist of New England, who longed to be "morally good and excellent," had, therefore, no other object of moral effort than to make "the will truly lovely and right."

Action, therefore, as flowing from an energetic, right, and lovely will, was the ideal of New England. It rejected the asceticism of one-sided spiritualists, and fostered the whole man, seeking to perfect his intelligence and improve his outward condition. It saw in every one the divine and the human nature. It subjected but did not extirpate the inferior principles. It placed no merit in vows of poverty or celibacy, and spurned the thought of non-resistance. In a good cause its people were ready to take up arms and fight, cheered by the conviction that God was working in them both to will and to do.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MINISTERS ARE ADVISED TO TAX AMERICA BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT. NEWCASTLE'S ADMINISTRATION.

1754–1755.

Such was America, where the people were rapidly becoming sovereign. It was the moment when the aristocracy of England, availing itself of the formulas of the revolution of 1688, controlled the election of the house of commons and held possession of the government. To gain a seat in parliament, the great commoner himself was forced to ask it of Newcastle.

On the sixth of March 1754, a fever terminated the life of Henry Pelham. He was a statesman of caution and moderation, fidelity and integrity, unassuming and conciliatory; but with nothing heroic in his nature. He had enforced frugality, reduced the interest on the national debt, and consolidated the public funds; had resisted every temptation to unnecessary war, or to the indulgence of extreme party spirit; and, holding high office for about thirty years, had lived without ostentation and died poor. He alone was able to control the waywardness of his elder brother, and was the balance-wheel of the administration. His praise may be read in the poems of Garrick and Thompson and Pope. George II., when he was informed of his death, could not but exclaim: "Now I shall have no more peace." To the astonishment of all men, Newcastle, declaring he had been second minister long enough, placed himself at the head of the treasury, and desired Henry Fox to accept the office of secretary of state, with the conduct of the public business in the lower house.

Fox declining the promotion offered him, the inefficient

Holdernesse was transferred to the northern department; and Sir Thomas Robinson, a dull pedant, lately a subordinate at the board of trade, was selected for the southern, with the management of the new house of commons. "The duke," said Pitt, "might as well send his jackboot to lead us." The house abounded in noted men. Besides Pitt and Fox and Murray, the heroes of a hundred magnificent debates, there was "the universally able" George Grenville; the solemn Sir George Lyttelton, known as a poet, historian, and orator; Hillsborough, industrious, precise, well-meaning, but without sagacity; the arrogant, unstable Sackville, proud of his birth, ambitious of the highest stations; the amiable, candid, irresolute Conway; Charles Townshend, flushed with confidence in his own ability. Then, too, the young Lord North, well educated, abounding in good-humor, made his entrance into public life with such universal favor that every company resounded with the praises of his parts and merit. But Newcastle had computed what he might dare; at the elections, corruption had returned a majority devoted to the minister who was incapable of settled purposes or consistent conduct. The period when the English aristocracy ruled with the least admixture of royalty or popularity was the period when the British empire was the worst governed. "We are brought to the very brink of the precipice," said Pitt to the house of commons, "where, if ever, a stand must be made, unless you will degenerate into a little assembly, serving no other purpose than to register the arbitrary edicts of one too powerful subject." "We are designed to be an appendix" to the house of lords.

Sir Thomas Robinson called on his majority to show spirit. "Can gentlemen," he demanded, "can merchants, can the house bear, if eloquence alone is to carry it? I hope words alone will not prevail;" and the majority came to his aid. George II. was impatient of this thraldom to the aristocracy, but was too old to resist. The first political lesson which his grandson, Prince George, received at Leicester house, was such a use of the forms of the British constitution as should emancipate the royal authority from its dependence on a few great families. In this way Pitt and Prince George became allies, moving from most opposite points against the same influence;

Pitt wishing to increase the force of popular representation, and Prince George to recover independence for the prerogative.

These tendencies foreshadowed a change in the whig party of England. It must be renovated or dissolved. With cold and unimpassioned judgment, they had seated the house of Hanover on the English throne, and had defended their deliberate act till even the wounded hereditary propensities of the rural districts of the nation and the whole aristocracy had accepted their choice. Murray called himself a whig; and, after Hardwicke, was their oracle on questions of law. Cumberland, Newcastle, Devonshire, Bedford, Halifax, and the marquis of Rockingham were all reputed whigs. So were George and Charles Townshend, the young Lord North, Grenville, Conway, and Sackville. On the vital elements of civil liberty, the noble families which led the several factions had no systematic opinions. They knew not that America, which demanded their attention, would create parties in England on questions unknown to the revolution of 1688.

The province of New York had replied to the condemnation of its policy, contained in Sir Danvers Osborne's instructions, by a well-founded impeachment of Clinton for embezzling public funds and concealing it by false accounts; for gaining undue profits from extravagant grants of lands, and grants to himself under fictitious names; and for selling civil and military offices. These grave accusations were neglected; but the province further complained that its legislature had been directed to obey the king's instructions. They insisted that his instructions, though a rule of conduct to his governor, were not to the people the measure of obedience; that the rule of obedience was positive law; that a command to grant money was neither constitutional nor legal, being inconsistent with the freedom of debate and the rights of the assembly, whose power to prepare and pass the bills granting money was admitted by the crown. The Newcastle administration did not venture to enforce its orders, while it yet applauded the conduct of the board of trade, and summarily condemned New York by rejecting its loyal justificatory address to the king.

The best English lawyers questioned more and more the legality of a government by royal instructions.

As a security against French encroachments, the king, listening to the house of burgesses of Virginia, instructed the earl of Albemarle, then governor-in-chief of that dominion, to grant lands west of the great ridge of mountains which separates the rivers Roanoke, James, and Potomac from the Mississippi, to persons desirous of settling them, in quantities of not more than a thousand acres for any one person.

As a further measure, Halifax, by the royal command, in July and August, proposed an American union. "A certain and permanent revenue," with a proper adjustment of quotas, was to be determined by a meeting of one commissioner from each colony. In electing the commissioners, the council, though appointed by the king, was to have a negative on the assembly, and the royal governor to have a negative on both. The colony that failed of being represented was yet to be bound by the result. Seven were to be a quorum, and of these a majority, with the king's approbation, were to bind the continent. The executive department was to be intrusted to one commander-in-chief, who should, at the same time, be the commissary-general for Indian affairs. To meet his expenses, he was "to be empowered to draw" on the treasuries of the colonies for sums proportionate to their respective quotas. A disobedient or neglectful province was to be reduced by "the authority of parliament," whose interposition was equally to be applied for, if the plan of union should fail. No earnest effort was ever made to carry this despotic, complicated, and impracticable plan into effect. It does but mark, in the mind of Halifax and his associates, the moment of that pause which preceded the definitive purpose of settling all questions of an American revenue, government, and union by what seemed the effective, simple, and uniform system of a general taxation of America by the British legislature.

"If the several assemblies," wrote Thomas Penn from England, "will not make provision for the general service, an act of parliament may oblige them here." "The assemblies," said Dinwiddie, of Virginia, "are obstinate, self-opinionated, a stubborn generation," and he advised a universal poll-tax "to bring

the provinces to a sense of their duty." Sharpe, of Maryland, held it "possible, if not probable, that parliament, at its very next session, would raise a fund in the several provinces by a poll-tax," or imposts, "or a stamp duty," which last method he at that time favored.

Charles Townshend would have shipped three thousand regulars, with three hundred thousand pounds, to New England, to train its inhabitants, and, through them, to conquer Canada. But the administration confessed its indecision, and in October, while it sent pacific messages "to the French administration, particularly to Madame de Pompadour and the Duke de Mirepoix," the conduct of American affairs was abandoned to the duke of Cumberland, captain-general of the British army, a man without capacity for action or counsel.

The French ministry desired to trust the assurances of England. Giving discretionary power in case of a rupture, they instructed Duquesne to act only on the defensive; but Cumberland entered on his American career with eager ostentation.

For the American major-general and commander-in-chief, Edward Braddock was selected, a man in fortunes desperate, in manners brutal, in temper despotic; obstinate and intrepid; expert in the niceties of a review; harsh in discipline. As the duke had confidence only in regular troops, he repelled all assistance from the colonies by ordering that the general and field-officers of the provincial forces should have no rank when serving with the general and field-officers commissioned by the king. Disgusted at this order, Washington retired from the service, and his regiment was broken up.

The active participation in affairs by Cumberland again connected Henry Fox with their direction. This unscrupulous man, having "privately forsworn all connection with Pitt," entered the cabinet without office, and undertook the conduct of the house of commons. Cumberland had caused the English mutiny bill to be revised, and its rigor doubled. On a sudden, at a most unusual period in the session, Fox showed Lord Egmont a clause for extending the mutiny bill to America, and subjecting the colonial militia, when in actual service, to its terrible severity. Egmont interceded to protect America from this new grievance of military law; but Charles Towns-

hend defended the measure, and, turning to Lord Egmont, exclaimed: "Take the poor American by the hand and point out his grievances. I defy you, I beseech you, to point out one grievance. I know not of one." He pronounced a panegyric on the board of trade, and defended all their acts, in particular the instructions to Sir Danvers Osborne. The petition of the agent of Massachusetts was not allowed to be brought up; that to the house of lords no one would offer; and the bill, with the clause for America, was hurried through parliament.

It is confidently stated, by the agent of Massachusetts, that a noble lord had then a bill in his pocket, ready to be brought in, to ascertain and regulate the colonial quotas. All England was persuaded of "the perverseness of the assemblies," and inquiries were instituted relating to the easiest method of taxation by parliament. But, for the moment, the prerogative was employed; Braddock was ordered to exact a common revenue; and all the governors received the king's pleasure "that a fund be established for the benefit of all the colonies collectively in North America."

Men in England expected obedience; but, in December, Delancey referred to "the general opinion of the congress at Albany, that the colonies would differ in their measures and disagree about their quotas; without the interposition of the British parliament to oblige them," nothing would be done.

In the same moment, Shirley, at Boston, was planning how the common fund could be made efficient; and to Franklin, who, in December 1754, revisited the town, he submitted a new scheme of union. A congress of governors and delegates from the councils was to be invested with power at their meetings to adopt measures of defence, and to draw for all necessary moneys on the treasury of Great Britain, which was to be reimbursed by parliamentary taxes on America.

"The people in the colonies," replied Franklin, "are better judges of the necessary preparations for defence, and their own abilities to bear them. Governors often come to the colonies merely to make fortunes, with which they intend to return to Britain; are not always men of the best abilities or integrity; and have no natural connection with us, that should make them heartily concerned for our welfare. The councillors in most

of the colonies are appointed by the crown, on the recommendation of governors; frequently depend on the governors for office, and are, therefore, too much under influence. There is reason to be jealous of a power in such governors. They might abuse it merely to create employments, gratify dependents, and divide profits." Besides, the mercantile system of England already extorted a secondary tribute from America. In addition to the benefit to England from the increasing demand for English manufactures, the wealth of the colonies, by the British acts of trade, centred finally among the merchants and inhabitants of the metropolis.

Against taxation of the colonies by parliament, Franklin urged that it would lead to dangerous feuds and inevitable confusion; that parliament, being at a great distance, was subject to be misinformed and misled, and was, therefore, unsuited to the exercise of this power; that it was the undoubted right of Englishmen not to be taxed but by their own consent, through their representatives; that to propose taxation by parliament, rather than by a colonial representative body, implied a distrust of the loyalty or the patriotism or the understanding of the colonies; that to compel them to pay money without their consent would be rather like raising contributions in an enemy's country than taxing Englishmen for their own benefit; and, finally, that the principle involved in the measure would, if carried out, lead to a tax upon them all by act of parliament for support of government, and to the disuse of colonial assemblies, as a needless part of the constitution.

Shirley next proposed the plan of uniting the colonies more intimately with Great Britain by allowing them representatives in parliament; and Franklin replied that unity of government should be followed by a real unity of country; that it would not be acceptable, unless a reasonable number of representatives were allowed, all laws restraining the trade of the manufactures of the colonies were repealed, and England, ceasing to regard the colonies as tributary to its industry, were to foster the merchant, the smith, the hatter in America equally with those on her own soil.

Unable to move Franklin, Shirley renewed to the secretary of state his representations of the necessity of a union of the

colonies, to be formed in England and enforced by act of parliament. At the same time, he warned against Franklin's Albany plan, which he described as the application of the old republican charter system, such as prevailed in Rhode Island and Connecticut, to the formation of an American confederacy. The system, said he, is unfit for a particular colony; and much more unfit for a general government over a union of them all.

Early in 1755, Shirley enforced to the secretary of state "the necessity not only of a parliamentary union, but taxation." During the winter, Sharpe, who had been appointed temporarily to the chief command in America, vainly solicited aid from every province. New Hampshire, although weak and young, "took every opportunity to force acts contrary to the king's instructions and prerogative." The character of the Rhode Island government gave "no great prospect of assistance." New York hesitated in providing quarters for British soldiers, and would contribute to a general fund only when others did. New Jersey showed "the greatest contempt" for the repeated solicitations of its aged governor. In Pennsylvania, in Maryland, in South Carolina, the grants of money by the assemblies were negatived, because they were connected with the encroachments of popular power on the prerogative, "schemes of future independency," "the grasping at the disposition of all public money and filling all offices;" and in each instance the veto excited a great flame. The assembly of Pennsylvania, in March, borrowed money and issued bills of credit by their own resolves, without the assent of the governor. "They are the more dangerous," said Morris, "because a future assembly may use those powers against the government by which they are now protected;" and he constantly solicited the interference of England. The provincial press engaged in the strife. "Redress," said the Pennsylvania royalists, "if it comes, must come from his majesty and the British parliament." The Quakers looked to the same authority, not for taxation, but for the abolition of the proprietary rule.

The contest along the American frontier was raging fiercely, when, in January 1755, France proposed to England to leave the Ohio valley as it was before the last war, and at the same time inquired the motive of the armament which was making

in Ireland. Braddock, with two regiments, was already on the way to America, when Newcastle gave assurances that defence only was intended, that the general peace should not be broken; and offered to leave the Ohio valley as it had been at the treaty of Utrecht. Mirepoix, in reply, was willing that both the French and English should retire from the country between the Ohio and the Alleghanies, and leave that territory neutral, which would have secured to his sovereign all the country north and west of the Ohio; England, on the contrary, demanded that France should destroy all her forts as far as the Wabash, raze Niagara and Crown Point, surrender the peninsula of Nova Scotia, with a strip of land twenty leagues wide along the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic, and leave the intermediate country to the St. Lawrence a neutral desert. These proposals met with no acceptance; yet both parties professed a desire to investigate and arrange all disputed points; and Louis XV., while he sent three thousand men to America, held himself ready to sacrifice for peace all but honor and the protection due to his subjects; consenting that New England should reach on the east to the Penobscot, on the north to the watershed of the highlands.

While the negotiations were pending, Braddock arrived in the Chesapeake. In March, he reached Williamsburg, and visited Annapolis; on the fourteenth of April, he, with Commodore Keppel, held a congress at Alexandria. There were present, of the American governors, Shirley, next to Braddock in military rank; Delancey, of New York; Morris, of Pennsylvania; Sharpe, of Maryland; and Dinwiddie, of Virginia. Braddock directed their attention, first of all, to the subject of a colonial revenue, on which his instructions commanded him to insist, and his anger kindled "that no such fund was already established." The governors present, recapitulating their strifes with their assemblies, made answer: "Such a fund can never be established in the colonies without the aid of parliament. Having found it impracticable to obtain in their respective governments the proportion expected by his majesty toward defraying the expense of his service in North America, they are unanimously of opinion that it should be proposed to his majesty's ministers to find out some method of compelling

them to do it, and of assessing the several governments in proportion to their respective abilities." This imposing document Braddock sent forthwith to the ministry, himself urging the necessity of laying some tax throughout his majesty's dominions in North America. Dinwiddie reiterated his old advice. Sharpe recommended that the governor and council, without the assembly, should have power to levy money "after any manner that may be deemed most ready and convenient." "A common fund," so Shirley assured his colleagues, on the authority of the British secretary of state, "must be either voluntarily raised, or assessed in some other way."

I have had in my hands vast masses of correspondence, including letters from servants of the crown in every royal colony in America; from civilians, as well as from Braddock and Dunbar and Gage; from Delancey and Sharpe, as well as from Dinwiddie and Shirley; and all were of the same tenor. The British ministry heard one general clamor from men in office for taxation by act of parliament. "In an act of parliament for a general fund," wrote Shirley, "I have great reason to think the people will readily acquiesce."

In England, the government was more and more inclined to enforce the permanent authority of Great Britain. No assembly had with more energy assumed the management of the provincial treasury than that of South Carolina; and Richard Lyttelton, brother of Sir George Lyttelton, who, in November 1755, became chancellor of the exchequer, was sent to recover the authority which had been impaired by "the unmanly facilities of former rulers." Pennsylvania had, in January 1755, professed its loyalty, and explained the danger to chartered liberties from proprietary instructions; but, after a hearing before the board of trade, the address of the colonial legislature to their sovereign, like that of New York in the former year, was disdainfully rejected. Petitions for reimbursements and aids were received with displeasure; the people of New England were treated as desiring to be paid for protecting themselves. The reimbursement of Massachusetts for taking Louisburg was now condemned, as a subsidy to subjects who had only done their duty. "You must fight for your own altars and firesides," was Sir Thomas Robinson's answer to the

American agents, as they were bandied to him from Newcastle, and from both to Halifax. Halifax alone had decision and a plan. In July 1755, he insisted with the ministry on a "general system to ease the mother country of the great and heavy expenses with which it of late years was burdened." The administration resolved "to raise funds for American affairs by a stamp duty, and a duty" on products of the foreign West Indies imported into the continental colonies. The English press advocated an impost in the northern colonies on West India products, "and likewise that, by act of parliament, there be a further fund established" from "stamped paper." This tax, it was conceived, would yield "a very large sum." Huske, an American, writing under the patronage of Charles Townshend, urged a reform in the colonial administration, and moderate taxation by parliament. Delancey, in August, had hinted to the New York assembly that a "stamp duty would be so diffused as to be in a manner insensible." That province objected to a stamp tax as oppressive, though not to a moderate impost on West India products; and the voice of Massachusetts was unheeded, when, in November, it instructed its agent "to oppose everything that should have the remotest tendency to raise a revenue in the plantations." Those who once promised opposition to an American revenue that should come under the direction of the government in England, resolved rather to sustain it, and the next winter was to introduce the new policy.

The civilized world was just beginning to give attention to the colonies. Hutcheson, the able Irish writer on ethics—who, without the power of thoroughly reforming the theory of morals, knew that it needed a reform, and was certain that truth and right have a foundation within us, though, swayed by the material philosophy of his times, he sought that foundation not in pure reason, but in a moral sense—saw no wrong in the coming independence of America. "When," he inquired, "have colonies a right to be released from the dominion of the parent state?" And this year his opinion saw the light: "Whenever they are so increased in numbers and strength as to be sufficient by themselves for all the good ends of a political union."

CHAPTER VIII.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE CONTEND FOR THE OHIO VALLEY AND FOR ACADIA. NEWCASTLE'S ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED.

1755.

The events of the summer strengthened the purpose, but delayed the period, of taxation by parliament. Between England and France peace existed under ratified treaties; it was proposed not to invade Canada, but to repel encroachments on the frontier. For this end, four expeditions were concerted by Braddock at Alexandria. Lawrence, the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, was to reduce that province according to the English interpretation of its boundaries; Johnson, from his long acquaintance with the Six Nations, was selected to enroll Mohawk warriors in British pay, and lead them with provincial militia against Crown Point; Shirley proposed to drive the French from Niagara; the commander-in-chief was to recover the Ohio valley.

Soon after Braddock sailed from Europe, the French sent re-enforcements to Canada under the veteran Dieskau. Boscawen, with English ships, followed in their track; and when the French ambassador, who was still at London, expressed some uneasiness on the occasion, he had been assured that the English would not begin hostilities. At six o'clock, on the evening of the seventh of June, the Alcide, the Lys, and the Dauphin, that had for several days been separated from their squadron, fell in with the British fleet off Cape Race. Between ten and eleven in the morning of the eighth, the Alcide, under Hocquart, was within hearing of the Dunkirk, a vessel of sixty guns, commanded by Howe. "Are we at peace or war?" asked Hocquart. The French affirm that

the answer to them was, "Peace! Peace!" till Boscawen gave the signal to engage. Howe, who was as brave as he was taciturn, obeyed the order promptly; and the Alcide and Lys yielded to superior force. The Dauphin, being a good sailer, scud safely for Louisburg. Nine more of the French squadron came in sight of the British, but were not intercepted; and, before June was gone, Dieskau and his troops, with Vaudreuil, who superseded Duquesne as governor of Canada, landed at Quebec. Vaudreuil was a Canadian by birth, had served in Canada, and been governor of Louisiana; his countrymen flocked about him to bid him welcome.

From Williamsburg, Braddock sent word to Newcastle that he would be "beyond the mountains of Alleghany by the end of April;" at Alexandria, in April, he promised tidings of his successes by an express to be sent in June. At Fredericktown, where he halted for carriages, he said to Franklin: "After taking Fort Duquesne, I am to proceed to Niagara, and, having taken that, to Frontenac. Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days, and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara." "The Indians are dexterous in laying and executing ambuscades," replied Franklin, who called to mind the French invasion of the Chicasas, and the death of Artaguette and Vincennes. "The savages," answered Braddock, "may be formidable to your raw American militia; upon the king's regulars and disciplined troops, it is impossible they should make any impression." The little army was "unable to move, for want of horses and carriages;" but Franklin, by his "great influence in Pennsylvania," supplied both with a "promptitude and probity" which extorted praise from Braddock and unanimous thanks from the assembly of his province. Among the wagoners was Daniel Morgan, famed in village groups as a wrestler, skilful in the use of the musket, who emigrated as a day-laborer from New Jersey to Virginia, and, husbanding his wages, became the owner of a team. At Will's creek, which took the name of Cumberland, Washington, in May, joined the expedition as one of the general's aids.

Seven-and-twenty days passed in the march from Alexandria to Cumberland, where two thousand effective men were assembled; among them, two independent companies from

New York, under the command of Horatio Gates. "The American troops," wrote Braddock, "have little courage or good-will; I expect from them almost no military service, though I have employed the best officers to drill them;" and he insulted the country as void of ability, honor, and integrity. "The general is brave," said his secretary, young Shirley, "and in pecuniary matters honest, but disqualified for the service he is employed in;" and Washington found him "incapable of arguing without warmth, or giving up any point he had asserted, be it ever so incompatible with common sense."

From Cumberland to the fork of the Ohio the distance is less than one hundred and thirty miles. On the last day of May, five hundred men were sent forward to open the roads, and store provisions at Little Meadows. Sir Peter Halket followed with the first brigade, and June was advancing before the general was in motion with the second. Meantime, Fort Duquesne was receiving re-enforcements. "We shall have more to do," said Washington, "than to go up the hills and come down."

The military road was carried, not through the gorge in the mountain, which was then impassable, but, with infinite toil, over the hills. The army followed in a slender line, nearly four miles long.

On the nineteenth of June, Braddock, by Washington's advice, leaving Dunbar to follow with the residue of the army, pushed forward with twelve hundred chosen men. Yet still they stopped to level every molehill, and erect bridges over every creek. On the eighth of July, they arrived at the fork of the Monongahela and Youghiogeny rivers. The distance to Fort Duquesne was but twelve miles, and the governor of New France gave it up as lost.

Early in the morning of the ninth, the troops of Braddock forded the tranquil Monongahela just below the mouth of Turtle creek, and marched on its southern bank. At noon they forded the Monongahela again, and stood between the rivers that form the Ohio, only ten miles distant from the fork. A detachment of three hundred and fifty men, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Gage, and closely attended by a working party of two hundred and fifty under St. Clair, advanced cautiously.

with guides and flanking parties, along a path but twelve feet wide, toward the uneven woody country that was between them and Fort Duquesne. Braddock "was too sure of victory, and had not scouts out before the army to discover the enemy in their lurking-places." The party with Gage ascended the hill till they gained the point where they turned the ravine. The ground then on their left sloped downward toward the river bank; on their right, it rose, first gradually, then suddenly, to a high ridge. The main body of the army was following, when "the general was surprised" by a very heavy and quick fire in the front.

Aware of his movements by the fidelity of their scouts, the French had resolved on an ambuscade. Twice in council the Indians declined the enterprise. "I shall go," said Beaujeu, the commandant at Fort Duquesne, "and will you suffer your father to go alone? I am sure we shall conquer." Recovering confidence, they pledged themselves to be his companions. At an early hour, Contrecœur detached Beaujeu, Dumas, and Lignery, with less than two hundred and thirty French and Canadians, and six hundred and thirty-seven savages, under orders to repair to a favorable spot selected the preceding evening. Before reaching it, they found themselves in the presence of the English, who were advancing in good order, and Beaujeu instantly attacked them with the utmost vivacity. Gage should, on the moment, have sent support to his flanking parties, but, from natural indecision, failed to do so. The flanking guards were driven in, and the advanced party, leaving their two six-pounders in the hands of the enemy, were thrown back upon the vanguard which the general had sent as a reenforcement, and which was attempting to form in face of the rising ground on the right. The men of both regiments were crowded together in promiscuous confusion. The general hurried forward with his artillery, which, though it could do little harm, as it played against an enemy whom the woods concealed, yet made the savages waver. At this time, Beaujeu fell, when the brave and humane Dumas, taking the command, sent the savages to attack the English in flank, while he, with the French and Canadians, continued the combat in front.

But Braddock "did not allow his men to go to trees, and

fight the Indians in their own way." The savages, "protected by the trees, on their seeing" the British "forces march in a body, spread themselves in a crescent, or half-moon, by which they had the advantage on every side." * Posted behind large trees "in the front of the troops, and on the hills which overhung the right flank," invisible, yet making the woods re-echo their war-whoop, they fired with deadly aim at "the fair mark" offered by the "compact body of men beneath them." None of the English that were engaged would say they saw a hundred of the enemy, and "many of the officers, who were in the heat of the action the whole time, would not assert that they saw one;" and they could only return the fire at random in the direction from which it came.

The combat continued for two hours, with scarcely any change in the disposition of either side. The regulars, terrified by the yells of the Indians, and dispirited by a manner of fighting such as they had never imagined, contrary to orders, gathered themselves into a body ten or twelve deep, and would then level, fire, and shoot down men before them. The officers bravely advanced, sometimes at the head of small bodies, sometimes separately, but were sacrificed by the soldiers, who declined to follow them, and even fired upon them from the rear. Of eighty-six officers, twenty-six were killed, among them Sir Peter Halket, and thirty-seven were wounded, including Gage and other field-officers. Of the men, one half were killed or wounded. Braddock braved every danger. His secretary was shot dead; both his English aids were disabled early in the engagement, leaving Washington alone to distribute his orders. "I expected every moment," said one whose eye was on him, "to see him fall." He had two horses shot under him, and four bullets through his coat, yet escaped without a wound. "Death," wrote Washington, "was levelling my companions on every side of me; but, by the all-powerful dispensation of Providence, I have been protected." "To the public," said Samuel Davies, a learned Virginia divine, in the following month, "I point out that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country." "Who

* Compare Dinwiddie to Halifax, 1 October, 1755. MS.

is Mr. Washington?" asked Lord Halifax, a few months later. "I know nothing of him," he added, "but that they say he behaved in Braddock's action as bravely as if he really loved the whistling of bullets." The Virginia troops showed great valor, and, of three companies, scarcely thirty men were left alive. Captain Peyronney and all his officers, down to a corporal, were killed; of Polson's, whose courage was honored by the legislature of the Old Dominion, only one officer was left. But "those they call regulars, having wasted their ammunition, broke and ran, as sheep before hounds, leaving the artillery, provisions, baggage, and even the private papers of the general, a prey to the enemy. The attempt to rally them was as vain as to attempt to stop the wild bears of the mountain." Of privates, seven hundred and fourteen were killed or wounded, while of the French and Indians, only three officers and thirty men fell, and but as many more were wounded.

Braddock had five horses disabled under him; at last a bullet entered his right side, and he fell mortally wounded. He was with difficulty brought off the field, and borne in the train of the fugitives; the meeting at Dunbar's camp made a day of confusion. On the twelfth of July, Dunbar destroyed the remaining artillery, and burned the public stores and the heavy baggage, to the value of a hundred thousand pounds, pretending that he had the orders of the dying general, and being himself resolved, in midsummer, to evacuate Fort Cumberland, and hurry to Philadelphia for winter quarters. Accordingly, the next day they all retreated. At night, Braddock roused from his lethargy to say: "We shall better know how to deal with them another time;" and died. His grave may still be seen, near the national road, about a mile west of Fort Necessity.

The forest battle-field was left thickly strewn with the wounded and the dead. Never had there been such a harvest of scalps and spoils. As evening approached, the woods round Fort Duquesne rung with the halloos of the red men, the firing of small arms, mingled with a peal from the cannon at the fort. The next day the British artillery was brought in; and the Indian warriors, painting their skin a shining vermilion, with patches of black and brown and blue, tricked themselves

out in the laced hats and bright apparel of the English officers. "This whole transaction," writes Franklin, "gave us Americans the first suspicion that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regular troops had not been well founded."

The news of Braddock's defeat and the shameful evacuation of Fort Cumberland threw the central provinces into the greatest consternation. The assembly of Pennsylvania resolved to grant fifty thousand pounds to the king's use, in part by a tax on all estates, real and personal, within the province. Morris, the governor, obeying the orders of the proprietaries, claimed exemption for their estates. The assembly rejected the demand with disdain; for the annual income of the proprietaries from quit-rents, ground-rents, rents of manors, and other appropriated and settled lands, was nearly thirty thousand pounds. Sharpe would not convene the assembly of Maryland, because it was "fond of imitating the precedents of Pennsylvania." And the governors, proprietary as well as royal, reciprocally assured each other that nothing could be done in their colonies without an act of parliament.

Happily, the Catawbas at the south remained faithful; and in July, at a council of five hundred Cherokees assembled under a tree in the highlands of western Carolina, Glen renewed the covenant of peace, obtained a cession of lands, and was invited to erect Fort Prince George near the villages of Conasatchee and Keowee.

At the north, New England was extending British dominion. Massachusetts cheerfully levied about seven thousand nine hundred men, or nearly one fifth of the able-bodied men in the colony. Of these, a detachment took part in establishing the sovereignty of England in Acadia. That peninsula —abounding in harbors and in forests, rich in its ocean fisheries and in the product of its rivers, near to a region that invited to the chase and the fur trade, having in its interior large tracts of alluvial soil—had become dear to its inhabitants, who beheld around them the graves of their ancestors for several generations. It was the oldest French colony in North America. There the Bretons had built their dwellings, sixteen years before the pilgrims reached the shores of New England. With the progress of the respective settlements, sectional jeal-

ousies and religious bigotry had renewed their warfare; the offspring of the Massachusetts husbandmen were taught to abhor "popish cruelties" and "popish superstitions;" while Roman Catholic missionaries were propagating their faith among the villages of the Abenakis.

After repeated conquest and restorations, the treaty of Utrecht conceded Acadia, or Nova Scotia, to Great Britain. Yet the name of Annapolis, a feeble English garrison, and five or six immigrant families, were nearly all that marked the supremacy of England. The old inhabitants remained on the soil. They still loved the language and the usages of their forefathers, and their religion was graven upon their souls. They promised submission to England; but such was the love with which France had inspired them, they would not fight against its standard or renounce its name. Though conquered, they were French neutrals.

For nearly forty years from the peace of Utrecht they had been forgotten or neglected, and had prospered in their seclusion. No tax-gatherer counted their folds, no magistrate dwelt in their hamlets. The parish priest made their records and regulated their successions. Their little disputes were settled among themselves, with scarcely one appeal to English authority at Annapolis. The pastures were covered with their herds and flocks; and dikes, raised by extraordinary efforts of social industry, shut out the rivers and the tide from alluvial marshes of exuberant fertility. The meadows, thus reclaimed, were covered by grasses, or fields of wheat. Their houses were built in clusters, neatly constructed and comfortably furnished; and around them all kinds of domestic fowls abounded. With the spinning-wheel and the loom, their women made, of flax from their own fields, of fleeces from their own flocks, coarse but sufficient clothing. The few foreign luxuries that were coveted could be obtained from Annapolis or Louisburg, in return for furs or wheat or cattle.

Happy in their neutrality, the Acadians formed, as it were, one great family. Their morals were of unaffected purity; the custom of early marriages was universal. The neighbors of the community would assist the new couple to raise their cottage on fertile land, which the wilderness freely offered.

Their numbers increased, and the colony, which had begun as the trading station of a company, with a monopoly of the fur trade, counted, perhaps, sixteen thousand inhabitants.

When England began vigorously to colonize Nova Scotia, the native inhabitants might fear the loss of their independence. The enthusiasm of their priests was kindled at the thought that heretics, of a land which had disfranchised Catholics, were to surround, and perhaps to overwhelm, the ancient Acadians. "Better," said the priests, "surrender your meadows to the sea and your houses to the flames, than, at the peril of your souls, take the oath of allegiance to the British government." And they, from their anxious sincerity, were uncertain in their resolves; now gathering courage to flee beyond the isthmus for other homes in New France, and now yearning for their own houses and fields, their herds and pastures.

The haughtiness of the British officers aided the priests in their attempts to foment disaffection. The English regarded colonies, even when settled by men from their own land, only as sources of emolument to the mother country; colonists as an inferior caste. The Acadians were despised because they were helpless. Ignorant of the laws of their conquerors, they were not educated to the knowledge, the defence, and the love of English liberties; they knew not the way to the throne, and, given up to military masters, had no redress in civil tribunals. Their papers and records, the titles to their estates and inheritances, were taken away from them. Was their property demanded for the public service, "they were not to be bargained with for the payment." The words may still be read on the council records at Halifax. They must comply, it was written, without making any terms, "immediately," or "the next courier would bring an order for military execution upon the delinquents;" and, when they delayed in fetching firewood for their oppressors, it was told them from the governor: "If they do not do it in proper time, the soldiers shall absolutely take their houses for fuel." The unoffending sufferers submitted meekly to the tyranny. Under pretence of fearing that they might rise in behalf of France, or seek shelter in Canada, or convey provisions to the French garrisons, they were directed to surrender their boats and their fire-arms; and, con-

scious of innocence, they gave them up, leaving themselves without the means of flight, and defenceless. Further orders were afterward given to the English officers, if the Acadians behaved amiss, to punish them at discretion; if the troops were annoyed, to inflict vengeance on the nearest, whether the guilty one or not, "taking an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth."

The French, who had yielded the sovereignty over no more than the peninsula, established themselves on the isthmus, in two forts: one, a stockade at the mouth of the little river Gaspereaux, near Bay Verte; the other, the more considerable fortress of Beau Séjour, built and supplied at great expense, upon an eminence on the north side of the Messagouche, on the Bay of Fundy. The isthmus is here hardly fifteen miles wide, and formed the natural boundary between New France and Acadia.

The French at Beau Séjour had passed the previous winter in unsuspecting tranquillity, ignorant of the preparations of the two crowns for war. As spring approached, suspicions were aroused; but Vergor, the inefficient commander, took no vigorous measures for strengthening his works; nor was he fully roused to his danger till, from the walls of his fort, he beheld the fleet of the English sailing fearlessly into the bay, and anchoring before his eyes.

The provincial troops, about fifteen hundred in number, strengthened by a detachment of three hundred regulars and a train of artillery, were disembarked without difficulty. A day was given to repose and parade; on the fourth of June, they forced the passage of the Messagouche, the intervening river. No sally was attempted; no earnest defence was undertaken. On the twelfth, the fort at Beau Séjour, weakened by fear, discord, and confusion, was invested; and in four days it surrendered. By the terms of the capitulation, the garrison was to be sent to Louisburg; for the Acadian fugitives, inasmuch as they had been forced into the service, amnesty was stipulated. The place received an English garrison, and, from the brother of the king, then the soul of the regency, was named Cumberland.

The petty fortress near the river Gaspereaux, on Bay Verte,

a mere palisade, flanked by four block-houses, without mound or trenches, and tenanted by no more than twenty soldiers, though commanded by the brave Villerai, could do nothing but capitulate on the same terms. Meantime, Captain Rous sailed, with three frigates and a sloop, to reduce the French fort on the St. John's. But, before he arrived there, the fort and dwellings of the French had been abandoned and burned, and he took possession of a deserted country. Thus was the region east of the St. Croix annexed to England, with a loss of but twenty men killed and as many more wounded.

No further resistance was to be feared. The Acadians cowered before their masters, willing to take an oath of fealty to England, refusing to pledge themselves to bear arms against France. The English were masters of the sea, were undisputed lords of the country, and could exercise clemency without apprehension. Not a whisper gave a warning of their purpose till it was ripe for execution.

It had been "determined upon," after the ancient device of Oriental despotism, that the French inhabitants of Acadia should be carried away into captivity to other parts of the British dominions. "They have laid aside all thought of taking the oaths of allegiance voluntarily:" thus, in August 1754, Lawrence, the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, had written of them to Lord Halifax. "They possess the best and largest tract of land in this province; if they refuse the oaths, it would be much better that they were away." The lords of trade, in reply, veiled their wishes under the decorous form of suggestions. "By the treaty of Utrecht," said they of the French Acadians, "their becoming subjects of Great Britain is made an express condition of their continuance after the expiration of a year; they cannot become subjects but by taking the oaths required of subjects; and, therefore, it may be a question whether their refusal to take such oaths will not operate to invalidate their titles to their lands. Consult the chief justice of Nova Scotia upon that point; his opinion may serve as a foundation for future measures."

France remembered the descendants of her sons in the hour of their affliction, and asked that they might have time to remove from the peninsula with their effects, leaving their

lands to the English; but the answer of the British minister claimed them as useful subjects, and refused the request.

The inhabitants of Minas and the adjacent country pleaded with the British officers for the restitution of their boats and their guns, promising fidelity, if they could but retain their liberties; and declaring that not the want of arms, but their conscience, should engage them not to revolt. "The memorial," said Lawrence in council, "is highly arrogant, insidious, and insulting." The memorialists, at his summons, came submissively to Halifax. "You want your canoes for carrying provisions to the enemy," said he to them, though he knew no enemy was left in their vicinity. "Guns are no part of your goods," he continued, "as by the laws of England all Roman Catholics are restrained from having arms, and are subject to penalties if arms are found in their houses. It is not the language of British subjects to talk of terms with the crown, or capitulate about their fidelity and allegiance. What excuse can you make for treating this government with such indignity as to expound to them the nature of fidelity? Manifest your obedience by immediately taking the oaths of allegiance in the common form before the council."

The deputies replied that they would do as the generality of the inhabitants should determine; and they merely entreated leave to return home and consult the body of their people.

The next day the unhappy men offered to swear allegiance unconditionally; but they were told that, by a clause in a British statute, persons who have once refused the oaths cannot be afterward permitted to take them, but are to be considered as popish recusants; and as such they were imprisoned.

The chief justice, Belcher, on whose opinion hung the fate of so many hundreds of innocent families, insisted that the French inhabitants were to be looked upon as confirmed "rebels," who had now collectively and without exception become "recusants." Besides, they still counted in their villages "eight thousand" souls, and the English not more than "three thousand;" they stood in the way of "the progress of the settlement;" "by their non-compliance with the conditions of the treaty of Utrecht, they had forfeited their possessions to the crown;" after the departure "of the fleet and troops, the

province would not be in a condition to drive them out." "Such a juncture as the present might never occur;" so he advised "against receiving any of the French inhabitants to take the oath," and for the removal of "all" of them from the province.

That the cruelty might have no palliation, letters arrived, leaving no doubt that the shores of the Bay of Fundy were entirely in the possession of the British; and yet at a council, at which Vice-Admiral Boscawen and Rear-Admiral Mostyn were present by invitation, it was unanimously determined to send the French inhabitants out of the province; and, after mature consideration, it was further unanimously agreed that, to prevent their attempting to return and molest the settlers that were to be set down on their lands, it would be most proper to distribute them among the several colonies on the continent.

To hunt them into the net was impracticable; artifice was therefore resorted to. By a general proclamation, on one and the same day, the scarcely conscious victims, "both old men and young men, as well as all the lads of ten years of age," were peremptorily ordered to assemble at their respective posts. On the appointed fifth of September they obeyed. At Grand Pré, for example, four hundred and eighteen unarmed men came together. They were marched into the church and its avenues were closed, when Winslow, the American commander, placed himself in their centre, and spoke:

"You are convened together to manifest to you his majesty's final resolution to the French inhabitants of this his province. Your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds, and live stock of all sorts, are forfeited to the crown, and you yourselves are to be removed from this his province. I am, through his majesty's goodness, directed to allow you liberty to carry off your money and household goods, as many as you can, without discommoding the vessels you go in." And he then declared them the king's prisoners. Their wives and families shared their lot; their sons, five hundred and twenty-seven in number; their daughters, five hundred and seventy-six; in the whole, women and babes and old men and children all included, nineteen hundred and twenty-three souls. The blow was sudden; they had left home but for the morning,

and they never were to return. Their cattle were to stay unfed in the stalls, their fires to die out on their hearths. They had for that first day even no food for themselves or their children.

The tenth of September was the day for the embarkation of a part of the exiles. They were drawn up six deep; and the young men, one hundred and sixty-one in number, were ordered to march first on board the vessel. They could leave their farms and cottages, the shady rocks on which they had reclined, their herds, and their garners; but nature yearned within them, and they would not be separated from their parents. Yet of what avail was the frenzied despair of the unarmed youth? They had not one weapon; the bayonet drove them to obey; and they marched slowly and heavily from the chapel to the shore, between women and children, who, kneeling, prayed for blessings on their heads, they themselves weeping and praying and singing hymns. The seniors went next; the wives and children must wait till other transport vessels arrive. The delay had its horrors. The wretched people left behind were kept together near the sea, without proper food, or raiment, or shelter, till other ships came to take them away; and December, with its appalling cold, had struck the shivering, half-clad, broken-hearted sufferers, before the last of them were removed. "The embarkation of the inhabitants goes on but slowly," wrote Monckton, from Fort Cumberland, near which he had burned three hamlets; "the most part of the wives of the men we have prisoners are gone off with their children, in hopes I would not send off their husbands without them." Their hope was vain. Near Annapolis, a hundred heads of families fled to the woods, and a party was detached on the hunt to bring them in. "Our soldiers hate them," wrote an officer on this occasion; "and, if they can but find a pretext to kill them, they will." Did a prisoner seek to escape, he was shot down by the sentinel. Yet some fled to Quebec; more than three thousand had withdrawn to Miramachi and the region south of the Ristigouche: some found rest on the banks of the St. John's and its branches; some found a lair in their native forests; some were charitably sheltered from the English in the wigwams of the savages

But seven thousand of these banished people were driven on board ships, and scattered among the English colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia; one thousand and twenty to South Carolina alone. They were cast ashore without resources, hating the poor-house as a shelter for their offspring, and abhorring the thought of selling themselves as laborers. Households, too, were separated; the colonial newspapers contained advertisements of members of families seeking their companions, of sons anxious to reach and relieve their parents, of mothers moaning for their children.

The wanderers sighed for their native country; but, to prevent their return, their villages, from Annapolis to the isthmus, were laid waste. Their old homes were but ruins. In the district of Minas, for instance, two hundred and fifty of their houses, and more than as many barns, were consumed. The live stock which belonged to them, consisting of great numbers of horned cattle, hogs, sheep, and horses, were seized as spoils and disposed of by the English officials. A beautiful and fertile tract of country was reduced to a solitude. There was none left round the ashes of the cottages of the Acadians but the faithful watch-dog, vainly seeking the hands that fed him. Thickets of forest-trees choked their orchards; the ocean broke over their neglected dikes, and desolated their meadows.

Relentless misfortune pursued the exiles wherever they fled. Those sent to Georgia, drawn by a love for the spot where they were born, as strong as that of the captive Jews who wept by the rivers of Babylon for their own temple and land, escaped to sea in boats, and went coasting from harbor to harbor; but when they had reached New England, just as they would have set sail for their native fields, they were stopped by orders from Nova Scotia. Those who dwelt on the St. John's were torn from their new homes. When Canada surrendered, hatred with its worst venom pursued the fifteen hundred who remained south of the Ristigouche. Once those who dwelt in Pennsylvania presented a humble petition to the earl of Loudoun, then the British commander-in-chief in America; and the cold-hearted peer, offended that the prayer was made in French, seized their five principal men,

who in their own land had been persons of dignity and substance, and shipped them to England, with the request that they might be kept from ever again becoming troublesome by being consigned to service as common sailors on board ships-of-war. No doubt existed of the king's approbation. The lords of trade, more merciless than the savages and than the wilderness in winter, wished very much that every one of the Acadians should be driven out; and, when it seemed that the work was done, congratulated the king that "the zealous endeavors of Lawrence had been crowned with an entire success." "We did," said Edmund Burke, "in my opinion, most inhumanly, and upon pretences that, in the eye of an honest man, are not worth a farthing, root out this poor, innocent, deserving people, whom our utter inability to govern, or to reconcile, gave us no sort of right to extirpate." I know not if the annals of the human race keep the record of sorrows so wantonly inflicted, so bitter, and so lasting, as fell upon the French inhabitants of Acadia. "We have been true," they said of themselves, "to our religion, and true to ourselves; yet nature appears to consider us only as the objects of public vengeance." The hand of the English official seemed under a spell with regard to them, and was never uplifted but to curse them.

CHAPTER IX.

GREAT BRITAIN UNITES AMERICA UNDER MILITARY RULE. NEWCASTLE'S ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED.

1755–1756.

While the British interpretation of the boundaries of Acadia was made good by occupation, the troops for the central expeditions had assembled at Albany. The army with which Johnson was to reduce Crown Point consisted of New England militia, chiefly from Connecticut and Massachusetts, with five hundred New Hampshire foresters, among whom was John Stark, then a lieutenant. The French, on the other hand, called every able-bodied man in the district of Montreal into active service for the defence of Crown Point, so that reapers had to be sent up from Three Rivers and Quebec to gather in the harvest.

Early in August 1755, the New England men, having for their major-general Phinehas Lyman, "a man of uncommon martial endowments," were finishing Fort Edward, at the portage between the Hudson and the headsprings of the Sorel. Toward the end of August, the untrained forces, which, with Indians, amounted to thirty-four hundred men, were led by William Johnson across the portage of twelve miles, to the southern shore of the lake, which the French called the lake of the Holy Sacrament. "I found," said Johnson, "a mere wilderness; never was house or fort erected here before;" and, naming the waters Lake George, he cleared space for a camp of five thousand men. The lake protects him on the north; his flanks are covered by a thick wood and a swamp. The tents of the husbandmen and mechanics, who form his summer army, are spread on a rising ground; but no fortifica-

tions are raised, no entrenchment thrown up. On week days, the men saunter to and fro in idleness; some, weary of inaction, are ready to mutiny and go home. On Sunday, all collect in the groves for public worship; even three hundred regularly enlisted red men seat themselves on the hillock, and listen gravely to the interpretation of a long sermon. Meanwhile, wagon after wagon brought artillery and stores and boats for the troops that were idling away the season. The enemy was more adventurous.

"Boldness wins," was Dieskau's maxim. Abandoning the well-concerted plan of an attack on Oswego, Vaudreuil sent him to oppose the army of Johnson. For the defence of the crumbling fortress at Crown Point, seven hundred regulars, sixteen hundred Canadians, and seven hundred savages had assembled. Of these, three hundred or more were Iroquois, domiciled in Canada. Dieskau, taking with him six hundred savages, as many Canadians, and two hundred regular troops, ascended Lake Champlain to its head, designing to go against Fort Edward. The guides took a false route; and, as evening of the fourth day's march came on, the party found itself on the road to Lake George. The red men refused to attack the fort, but they agreed to go against the army at the lake, which was thought to have neither artillery nor defences.

Late in the night following the seventh of September, it was told in the camp at Lake George that Dieskau's party was on its way to the Hudson. On the next morning, after a council of war, Ephraim Williams, a Massachusetts colonel, who, in passing through Albany, had made a bequest of his estate by will to found a free school, was sent with a thousand men to relieve Fort Edward. Among them was Israel Putnam, to whom, at the age of thirty-seven, the assembly at Connecticut had just given the rank of a second lieutenant. Two hundred warriors of the Six Nations were led by Hendrick, the gray-haired chieftain, famed for his clear voice and flashing eye. They marched with rash confidence, a little less than three miles, to a defile where the French and Indians lay in wait for them. Before the American party were entirely within the ambush, the French Indians showed themselves to the Mohawks, but without firing on their kindred, leaving the

Abenakis and Canadians to make the attack. Hendrick, who alone was on horseback, was killed on the spot; Williams fell; but Nathan Whiting, of New Haven, conducted the retreat in good order, often rallying and turning to fire.

When the noise of musketry was heard, two or three cannon were hastily brought up from the margin of the lake, and trees were felled for a breastwork. These, with the wagons and baggage, formed some protection to the New England militia, whose arms were but their fowling-pieces, without a bayonet among them all. It had been Dieskau's purpose to rush forward suddenly, and to enter the camp with the fugitives; but the Iroquois occupied a rising ground, and stood inactive. At this the Abenakis halted, and the Canadians faltered. Dieskau advanced with the regular troops to attack the centre, vainly hoping to be sustained. "Are these the so much vaunted troops?" cried Dieskau, bitterly. The battle, of which the conduct fell chiefly to Lyman, began between eleven and twelve; Johnson, slightly wounded, left the field at the beginning of the action; and for five hours the New England people, under the command of Lyman and their own officers, kept up the most violent fire that had as yet been known in America. Almost all the French regulars perished; Saint-Pierre was killed; Dieskau was wounded thrice, but remained on the field. At last, as the Americans drove the French to flight, he was severely wounded.

Of the Americans, there fell on that day about two hundred and sixteen, and ninety-six were wounded; of the French, the loss was not much greater. Toward sunset a party of three hundred French, who had rallied and were retreating in a body, at two miles from the lake were attacked by Macginnes, of New Hampshire, who, with two hundred men of that colony, was marching across the portage from Fort Edward. Panic-stricken by the well-concerted movement, the French fled, leaving their baggage; but the victory cost the life of the brave Macginnes.

The disasters of the year led the English ministry to exalt the repulse of Dieskau. The house of lords, in an address, praised the colonists as "brave and faithful." Johnson became a baronet, and received a gratuity of five thousand

pounds; but the victory was due to the enthusiasm of the New England men, and "to Major-General Lyman, the second officer in the army and the first in activity in the time of the engagement." "Our all," they cried, "depends on the success of this expedition." "Come," wrote Pomeroy, of Massachusetts, to his friends at home, "come to the help of the Lord against the mighty; you that value our holy religion and our liberties will spare nothing, even to the one half of your estate." And in all the villages "the prayers of God's people" went up, that "they might be crowned with victory to the glory of God;" for the war with France seemed a war for Protestantism and freedom.

But Johnson knew not how to profit by success; he kept the men all day on their arms, and at night "half of the whole were on guard." Shirley and the New England provinces and his own council of war urged him to advance; but while the ever active French took post at Ticonderoga, as Duquesne had advised, he loitered away the autumn, "expecting very shortly a more formidable attack with artillery," and building Fort William Henry near Lake George. When winter approached, he left six hundred men as a garrison, and dismissed the New England militia.

Of the enterprise against western New York, Shirley assumed the conduct. The fort at Niagara was but a house, almost in ruins, surrounded by a small ditch and a rotten palisade of seven or eight feet high. The garrison was but of thirty men, most of them scarcely provided with muskets. There Shirley, with two thousand men, was to have welcomed the victor of the Ohio. But the news of Braddock's defeat disheartened them. On the twenty-first of August, Shirley reached Oswego. Weeks passed in building boats; on the eighteenth of September, six hundred men were to embark on Lake Ontario, when a storm prevented; afterward head winds raged; then a tempest; then sickness; then the Indians deserted; and then the season was too late for action. So, on the twenty-fourth of October, having constructed and garrisoned a new fort at Oswego, Shirley, with these many excuses, withdrew.

At this time, a paper by Franklin, published in Boston and

reprinted in London, had drawn the attention of all observers to the rapid increase of the population in the colonies. "Upon the best inquiry I can make," wrote Shirley, "I have found the calculations right. The number of the inhabitants is doubled every twenty years;" and the demand for British manufactures, with a corresponding employment of shipping, increased with even greater rapidity. "Apprehensions," added Shirley, "have been entertained that they will in time unite to throw off their dependency upon their mother country, and set up one general government among themselves. But, if it is considered how different the present constitutions of their respective governments are from each other, how much the interests of some of them clash, and how opposed their tempers are, such a coalition among them will seem highly improbable. At all events, they could not maintain such an independency without a strong naval force, which it must forever be in the power of Great Britain to hinder them from having. And while his majesty hath seven thousand troops kept up within them, with the Indians at command, it seems easy, provided his governors and principal officers are independent of the assemblies for their subsistence and commonly vigilant, to prevent any step of that kind from being taken."

The topic which Shirley discussed with the ministry engaged the thoughts of the Americans. At Worcester, a thriving village of a little more than a thousand people, the interests of nations and the horrors of war made the subject of every conversation. The master of the town school, where the highest wages were sixty dollars for the season, the son of a small freeholder, a young man of hardly twenty, just from Harvard college, and at that time meditating to become a preacher, would sit and hear, and, escaping from a maze of observations, would sometimes retire, and, by "laying things together, form some reflections pleasing" to himself. "All creation," he would say in his musings, "is liable to change; mighty states are not exempted. Soon after the reformation, a few people came over into this new world for conscience' sake. This apparently trivial incident may transfer the great seat of empire into America. If we can remove the turbulent Gallics, our people, according to the exactest calculations, will,

in another century, become more numerous than England itself. All Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us." Such were the dreams of John Adams, while "pinched and starved" as the teacher of a "stingy" New England free school. Within twenty-one years, he shall assist in declaring his country's independence; in less than thirty, he shall stand before the king of Great Britain, the acknowledged envoy of the free and United States of America.

After the capture of the Alcide and the Lys by Boscawen, it was considered what instructions should be given to the British marine. The mother of George III. inveighed most bitterly "against not pushing the French everywhere; the parliament would never bear the suffering the French to bring home their trade and sailors;" she wished Hanover in the sea, as the cause of all misfortunes. Newcastle suggested trifles, to delay a decision. "If we are convinced it must be war," said Cumberland, "I have no notion of not making the most of the strength and opportunity in our hands." The earl of Granville was against meddling with trade: "It is vexing your neighbors for a little muck." "I," said Newcastle, the prime minister, "think some middle way may be found out." He was asked what way. "To be sure," he replied, "Hawke must go out; but he may be ordered not to attack the enemy, unless he thinks it worth while." He was answered, that Hawke was too wise to do anything at all, which others, when done, were to pronounce he ought to be hanged for. "What," replied the duke, "if he had orders not to fall upon the French, unless they were more in number together than ten?" The Brest squadron, it was replied, is but nine. "I mean that," resumed Newcastle, "of the merchant-men only." Thus he proceeded with inconceivable absurdity. France and England were still at peace, and their commerce was mutually protected by the sanctity of treaties. Of a sudden, orders were issued to all British vessels of war to take all French vessels, private as well as public; and, without warning, ships from the French colonies, the ships carrying from Martinique to Marseilles the rich products of plantations tilled by the slaves of Jesuits, the fishing-smacks in which the humble Breton mariners ventured

to Newfoundland, whale-ships returning from their adventures, the scanty fortunes with which poor men freighted the little barks engaged in the coasting trade, were within one month, by violence and by artifices, seized by the British marine, and carried into English ports, to the value of thirty millions of livres. "What has taken place," wrote Rouillé, under the eye of Louis XV., "is nothing but a system of piracy on a grand scale, unworthy of a civilized people." As there had been no declaration of war, the British courts of admiralty could not then warrant the outrage. The sum afterward paid into the British exchequer, as the king's share of the spoils, was about seven hundred thousand pounds. Eight thousand French seamen were held in captivity. "Never," said Louis XV., "will I forgive the piracies of this insolent nation;" and, in a letter to George II., he demanded ample reparation for the insult to the flag of France by Boscawen, and for the seizures by English men-of-war, committed in defiance of international law, the faith of treaties, the usages of civilized nations, and the reciprocal duties of kings. The wound thus inflicted on France would not heal, and for a whole generation was ready to bleed afresh. At the time, the capture of so many thousand French seamen was a subject of boast in the British parliament; and the people were almost unanimous for war, in which success would require the united activity of the colonies and allies in Europe.

The incompetent ministry turned to Russia. "Seize the opportunity," such was the substance of their instructions to their boastful and credulous envoy, "to convince the Russians that they will remain only an Asiatic power, if they allow the king of Prussia to carry through his plans of aggrandizement;" and full authority was given to effect an alliance with Russia, to overawe Prussia and control the politics of Germany. Yet at that time Frederic manifested no purpose of making conquests.

In this manner a treaty was concluded by which England, on the point of incurring the hostility of the Catholic princes, bound itself to pay to Russia at least half a million of dollars annually, and contingently two and a half million of dollars, in order to balance and paralyze the influence of the only consid-

erable Protestant monarchy on the continent. The English king was so eagerly bent on this shameful negotiation that Bestuchef, the Russian minister, obtained a gratuity of fifty thousand dollars, and one or two others received payments in cash and annuities. "A little increase of the money to be paid," said Bestuchef, "would be extremely agreeable. Fifty thousand pounds for the private purse of the empress would put her and her court at his majesty's management." At the same time, an extravagant treaty for subsidies was framed with Hesse, whose elector bargained at high rates for the use of his troops for the defence of Hanover, or, if needed, of the British dominions. Newcastle was sure of his majority in the house of commons; but William Pitt, though poor, and recently married, and holding the lucrative office of paymaster, declared his purpose of opposing the treaty with Russia. Newcastle sent for Pitt, offered him kind words from his sovereign, influence, preferment, confidence. Expressing devotion to the king, Pitt was inexorable: he would support the Hessian treaty, which was only a waste of money, but not a system of treaties dangerous to the liberties of Germany and of Europe. Newcastle grew nervous from fright, and did not recover courage till, in November, Fox consented to accept the seals and defend the treaties. At the great debate, Pitt taunted the majority, which was as three to one, with corruption and readiness "to follow their leader;" and, indirectly attacking the subjection of the throne to aristocratic influence, declared that "the king owes a supreme service to his people." Pitt was dismissed from office, and George Grenville and Charles Townshend retired with him.

The treaty with Russia was hardly confirmed when the ministry yielded to the impulse given by Pitt, and, after subsidizing Russia to obtain the use of her troops against Frederic, it negotiated an alliance with Frederic himself not to permit the entrance of Russian or any other foreign troops into Germany. The British aristocracy Newcastle sought to unite by a distribution of pensions and places. This is the moment when Hillsborough first obtained an employment, when the family of Yorke named Soame Jenyns for a lord of trade, and when Bedford was propitiated by the appointment of Richard

Rigby, one of his followers, to a seat at the same board. The administration proceeded, possessing the vote, but not the respect of parliament.

At the head of the American forces it had placed Shirley, a worn-out barrister, who knew nothing of war, yet, in December, at a congress of governors at New York, planned a campaign for the following year. Quebec was to be menaced by way of the Kennebec and the Chaudière; Frontenac and Toronto and Niagara were to be taken; and then Fort Duquesne and Detroit and Mackinaw, deprived of their communications, were, of course, to surrender. Sharpe, of Maryland, thought all efforts vain unless parliament should interfere, and this opinion he enforced in many letters. His colleagues and the officers of the army were equally importunate. "If they expect success at home," wrote Gage, in January 1756, echoing the common opinion of those around him, "acts of parliament must be made to tax the provinces in proportion to what each is able to bear, to make one common fund and pursue one uniform plan for America." "You," said Sir Charles Hardy, the new governor of New York, to the lords of trade, "will be much more able to settle it for us than we can ourselves."

From the Old Dominion, Dinwiddie continued to urge a general land-tax and poll-tax for all the colonies. "Our people," said he, "will be inflamed, if they hear of my making this proposal;" but he reiterated the hopelessness of obtaining joint efforts of the colonies by appeals to American assemblies. He urged also the subversion of charter governments; "for," said he to the secretary of state, "I am full of opinion we shall continue in a most disunited and distracted condition till his majesty takes the proprietary governments into his own hands. Till these governments are under his majesty's immediate direction, all expeditions will prove unsuccessful. These dominions, if properly protected, will be the western and best empire in the world."

With more elaborateness and authority, Shirley, still pleading for "a general fund," assured the ministers that the several assemblies would not agree among themselves upon such a fund; that, consequently, it must be done in England, and that the only effectual way of doing it there would be by an act

of parliament, in which he professed to have great reason to think the people would readily acquiesce. The success of any other measure would be doubtful; and, suggesting a "stamp duty" as well as an excise and a poll-tax, he advised, "for the general satisfaction of the people in each colony, to leave it to their choice to raise the sum assessed upon them according to their own discretion;" but in case of failure, "proper officers" were to collect the revenue "by warrants of distress and imprisonment of persons." Shirley was a civilian, versed in English law, for many years a crown officer in the colonies, and now having precedence of all the governors. His opinion carried great weight, and it became henceforward a firm persuasion among the lords of trade, especially Halifax, Soame Jenyns, and Rigby, as well as with all who busied themselves with schemes of government for America, that the British parliament must take upon itself the establishment and collection of an American revenue.

While the officers of the crown were thus conspiring against American liberty, the tomahawk was uplifted along the ranges of the Alleghanies. The governor of Virginia pressed upon Washington the rank of colonel and the command of the volunteer companies, which were to guard its frontier from Cumberland through the whole valley of the Shenandoah. Difficulties of all kinds gathered in his path: the humblest captain that held a royal commission claimed to be his superior, and, for the purpose of a personal appeal to Shirley, he made a winter's journey to Boston. How different was to be his next entry into that town! Shirley, who wished to make him second in command in an expedition against Fort Duquesne, sustained his claim. When his authority was established, his own officers still needed training and instruction, tents, arms, and ammunition. He visited in person the outposts from the Potomac to Fort Dinwiddie, on Jackson's river; but had not force enough to protect the region. The low countries could not spare their white men, for these must watch their negro slaves. From the western valley every settler had already been driven; from the valley of the Shenandoah they were beginning to retreat, in droves of fifties, till the Blue Ridge became the frontier of Virginia. "The supplicating

tears of the women and moving petitions of the men," wrote Washington, "melt me into such deadly sorrow that, for the people's ease, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy."

In Pennsylvania, measures of defence were impeded by the proprietaries, who, in concert with the board of trade, sought to take into their own hands the management of the revenue from excise; to restrain and regulate the emissions of paper money; to make their own will, rather than good behavior, the tenure of office. But the assembly was inflexible in connecting their grants for the public service with the preservation of their executive influence and the taxation of "all estates, real and personal, those of the proprietaries not excepted."

While these passionate disputes were raging, it was represented in England that the frontier of the province was desolate and defenceless; that the Shawnees had scaled the mountains, and prowled with horrible ferocity along the branches of the Susquehannah and the Delaware; that, in the time of a yearly meeting of Quakers, the bodies of a German family, murdered and mangled by the savages, had been brought down to Philadelphia; that men had even surrounded the assembly, demanding protection, which was withheld.

But provincial laws had already provided quarters for the British soldiers; had established a voluntary militia; and, when the proprietaries consented to pay five thousand pounds toward the public defence, had granted fifty-five thousand more. Franklin, who was one of the commissioners to apply the money, yielded to the wish of the governor, and took charge of the north-western border. Men came readily under his command; and he led them, through dangerous defiles, to build a fort at Gnadenhutten on the Lehigh. The Indians had made the village a scene of silence and desolation; the mangled inhabitants lay near the ashes of their houses unburied, exposed to birds and beasts. With Franklin came everything that could restore security; and he succeeded in establishing the intended line of forts. Recalled to Philadelphia, he found that the voluntary association for defence under the militia law went on with great success. Almost all the inhabitants,

who were not Quakers, joined together to form companies, which themselves elected their officers. The officers of the companies chose Franklin colonel of their regiment of twelve hundred men, and he accepted the post.

Here again was a new increase of popular power. In the house of commons, Lord George Sackville charged the situation of affairs in America "on the defects of the constitution of the colonies." He would have "one power established there." "The militia law of Pennsylvania," he said, "was designed to be ineffectual; it offered no compulsion, and, moreover, gave the nomination of officers to the people." The administration hearkened to a scheme for dissolving the assembly of that province by act of parliament, and disfranchising "the Quakers for a limited time," till laws for armed defence and for diminishing the power of the people could be framed by others.

After the long councils of indecision, the ministry of Newcastle, shunning altercations with colonial assemblies, gave a military character to the interference of Great Britain in American affairs. To New York instructions were sent "not to press the establishment of a perpetual revenue for the present." The northern colonies, whose successes at Lake George had mitigated the disgraces of the previous year, were encouraged by a remuneration; and, as a measure of temporary expediency, not of permanent policy or right, as a gratuity to stimulate exertions, and not to subsidize subjects, one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds were granted to them in proportion to their efforts. Of this sum, fifty-four thousand pounds fell to Massachusetts, twenty-six thousand to Connecticut, fifteen thousand to New York. For the further conduct of the war and regulation of colonial governments, opinions and precedents as old as the reign of William III. were recalled to mind.

The board of trade had hardly been constituted before it was summoned to devise unity in the military efforts of the provinces. In 1721, this method of governing by a military dictatorship had been revived, and most elaborately developed.* The plan was now to be partially carried into effect. On the instance of Cumberland and Fox, Shirley was superseded and

* See above, pp. 74 and 246, 247.

ordered to return to England; and the earl of Loudoun, a friend of Halifax, passionately zealous for the subordination and inferiority of the colonies, utterly wanting in the qualities of a military officer or of a statesman, or a man in any sort of business, was appointed commander-in-chief of the army throughout the British continental provinces in America. His dignity was enhanced by a commission as governor of the central, ancient, and populous dominion of Virginia. This commission, which was prepared by the chancellor Hardwicke, established a power throughout the continent, independent of the colonial governors and superior to them. They, in right of their office, might claim to be the civil and military representatives of the king, though they could not give the word within their own respective provinces, except in the absence of the continental commander and his representatives; and this commission, so contrary to the spirit of the British constitution, was renewed successively and without change till the period of independence. With these powers Loudoun was sent forth to unite America by military rule, to sway its magistrates by his authority, and to make its assemblies "distinctly and precisely understand" that the king "required" of them "a general fund, to be issued and applied as the commander-in-chief should direct," and to provide "for all such charges as might arise from furnishing quarters."

The administration was confirmed in its purpose by the authority of Murray. The legislature of Pennsylvania, adopting the act of the British parliament to punish mutiny, had regulated the providing of quarters. Murray, in reporting against the colonial statute, drew a distinction between Englishmen and Americans, saying: "The law assumes propositions true in the mother country, and rightly asserted in the reign of Charles I. and Charles II., in times of peace, and when soldiers were kept up without the consent of parliament; but the application of such positions, in time of war, in case of troops raised for protection by the authority of parliament—made the first time by an assembly, many of whom plead what they call conscience for not joining in the military operations to resist the enemy—should not be allowed to stand as law." This act, therefore, was repealed by the king in council; and the rule

was established, without limitation, that troops might be kept up in the colonies and quartered on them at pleasure, without the consent of their American parliaments.

After sixty years of advice from the board of trade, a permanent army was established in America; nothing seemed wanting but an American revenue by acts of parliament. The obstinacy of Pennsylvania was pleaded as requiring it. On the questions affecting that province, the board of trade listened to Charles Yorke on the side of prerogative, while Charles Pratt spoke for colonial liberty; and, after a long hearing, Halifax, and Soame Jenyns, and Richard Rigby, and Talbot joined in advising an immediate act of the British legislature to overrule the charter of the province. But the ministry was rent by factions, and their fluctuating tenure of office made it difficult to mature novel or daring measures of legislation. There existed no central will strong enough to conquer Canada or subvert the liberties of America.

A majority of the treasury board, as well as the board of trade, favored American taxation by act of parliament; none scrupled as to the power; but the execution of the purpose was deferred to a quieter period.

Still, parliament, in the session of 1756, exerted its authority signally over America. There foreign Protestants might be employed as engineers and officers to enlist a regiment of aliens. Indented servants might be accepted, and their masters were referred for compensation to the respective assemblies; and the naval code of England was extended to all persons employed in the king's service on the lakes, great waters, or rivers of North America. The militia law of Pennsylvania was repealed by the king in council; the commissions of all officers elected under it were cancelled; the companies themselves were broken up and dispersed. And, while volunteers were not allowed to organize themselves for defence, the humble intercession of the Quakers with the tribe of the Delawares, covenants resting on confidence and ratified by presents, peaceful stipulations for the security of the frontier fireside and the cradle, were censured by Lord Halifax as the most daring violation of the royal prerogative. Each northern province was forbidden to negotiate with the Indians; and their relations were

intrusted to Sir William Johnson, with no subordination but to Loudoun.

Yet all fears could not be allayed. "In a few years," said one, who, after a long settlement in New England, had just returned home, the colonies of "America will be independent of Britain;" and at least one voice was raised to advise the sending out of Duke William of Cumberland to be their sovereign and emancipating them at once.

William Smith, the semi-republican historian of New York, insisted that "the board of trade did not know the state of America;" and he urged a law for an American union with an American parliament. "The defects of the first plan," said he, "will be supplied by experience. The British constitution ought to be the model; and, from our knowledge of its faults, the American one may rise with more health and soundness in its first contexture than Great Britain will ever enjoy."

CHAPTER X.

THE ARISTOCRACY WITHOUT THE PEOPLE CANNOT GOVERN ENGLAND. NEWCASTLE'S ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED.

1756–1757.

War was not declared by England till May 1756, though her navy was all the while despoiling the commerce of France. On the avowal of hostilities, she forbade neutral vessels to carry merchandise belonging to her antagonist. Frederic of Prussia had insisted that, "by the law of nations, the goods of an enemy cannot be taken from on board the ships of a friend;" that free ships make free goods. Against this interpretation of public law, Murray, citing ancient usage against the lessons of wiser times, gave the elaborate opinion which formed the basis of English policy and admiralty law, that the effects of an enemy can be seized on board the vessel of a friend. This may be proved by authority, said the illustrious jurist, not knowing that humanity appeals from the despotic and cruel precedents of the past to the more intelligent and more humane spirit of advancing civilization. War is a trial of force, not a system of spoliation. Neutral nations believed in their right "to carry in their vessels, unmolested, the property" of belligerents; but Britain, to give efficacy to her naval power, "seized on the enemy's property which she found on board neutral ships." With the same view, she arbitrarily invaded the sovereignty of Holland, capturing its vessels whose cargoes might be useful for her navy. The treaties between England and Holland stipulated that free ships should make free goods; that the neutral should enter safely and unmolested all the harbors of the belligerents, unless they were blockaded or besieged; that the contraband of war should be strictly limited

to arms, artillery, and horses, and should not include materials for ship-building. But Great Britain, in the exercise of its superior strength, prohibited the commerce of the Netherlands in naval stores; denied them the right to become the carriers of French colonial products; and declared all the harbors of France in a state of blockade, and all vessels bound to them lawful prizes. Such was the rule of 1756. "To charge England with ambition," said Charles Jenkinson, an Oxford scholar who had exchanged the thought of entering the church for aspirations in public life, and was afterward known as Lord Liverpool, "must appear so absurd to all who understand the nature of her government, that at the bar of reason it ought to be treated rather as calumny than accusation."

April was almost gone before Abercrombie, who was to be next in command to the earl of Loudoun, with Webb and two battalions, left Plymouth for New York. Loudoun waited for his transports, that were to carry tents, ammunition, artillery, and intrenching tools; and at last, near the end of May, sailed without them. The man-of-war, which bore one hundred thousand pounds to reimburse the colonies for the expenses of 1755 and stimulate their activity for 1756, was delayed till the middle of June. The cannon for ships on Lake Ontario did not reach America till August. "We shall have good reason to sing Te Deum at the conclusion of this campaign," wrote the lieutenant-governor of Maryland, "if matters are not then in a worse situation than at present."

On the fifteenth of June, Abercrombie arrived. Letters awaited him in praise of Washington. Shirley, while still first in command of the army in America, wrote to the governor of Maryland, "I shall appoint Colonel Washington to the second command in the proposed expedition upon the Ohio, if there is nothing in the king's orders, which I am in continual expectation of, that interferes with it." "He is a very deserving gentleman," wrote Dinwiddie, "and has from the beginning commanded the forces of this dominion. He is much beloved, has gone through many hardships in the service, has great merit, and can raise more men here than any one." Dinwiddie urged his promotion on the British establishment.

On the twenty-fifth, Abercrombie reached Albany, intent

that the regular officers should command the provincials, and that the troops should be quartered on private houses. The next day Shirley acquainted him with the state of Oswego, advising that two battalions should be sent forward for its protection. The boats were ready, every magazine along the passage plentifully supplied; but the general could meditate only on triumphs of authority. "The great, the important day for Albany dawned." On the twenty-seventh, "in spite of every subterfuge, the soldiers were billeted upon the town." After this, Abercrombie still loitered, ordering a survey of Albany, that it might be ditched and stockaded round.

On the twelfth of July, the brave Bradstreet returned from Oswego, having thrown into the fort six months' provision for five thousand men and a great quantity of stores. He brought intelligence that a French army was in motion to attack the place; and Webb, with the forty-fourth regiment, was ordered to hold himself in readiness to march to its defence. But nothing was done. The regiments of New England, with the provincials from New York and New Jersey, amounted to more than seven thousand men; with the British regular regiments, to more than ten thousand men, besides the garrison at Oswego. In the previous year the road had been opened, the forts erected. But Abercrombie was still at Albany, when, on the twenty-ninth, the earl of Loudoun arrived. There "the viceroy" wasted time, with ten or twelve thousand men at his disposition doing nothing.

The French had been more active. While the savages made inroads to the borders of Ulster and Orange counties, De Lery, leaving Montreal in March with more than three hundred men, penetrated to Fort Bull, at the Oneida portage, destroyed its stores, and returned with thirty prisoners to Montreal. Near the end of May, eight hundred men, led by the intrepid and prudent Villiers, made their palisaded camp near the mouth of Sandy Creek, whence little parties intercepted supplies for Oswego.

Of the Six Nations, the four lower ones—the Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Mohawks—sent thirty of their chiefs to Montreal to solicit neutrality. They received for answer, "If you do not join the English, you shall not be harmed;"

and the envoys of the neutral tribes returned laden with presents.

Just then, the field-marshal Marquis de Montcalm arrived at Quebec; a man of a strong and well-stored memory, of a quick and highly cultivated mind, small in stature, rapid in thought and in conversation, and of restless mobility. He was accompanied by the Chevalier de Levis Leran, and by Bourlamarque, colonel of infantry. Travelling day and night, he hurried to Fort Carillon, at Ticonderoga, and took measures for improving its defences. He next resolved by secrecy and celerity to take Oswego. Collecting at Montreal three regiments from Quebec, and a large body of Canadians and Indians, on the fifth of August he reviewed his troops at Frontenac, and on the evening of the same day anchored in Sackett's Harbor.

Fort Oswego, on the right of the river, was a large stone building surrounded by a wall flanked with four small bastions, and commanded from adjacent heights. For its defence, Shirley had crowned a summit on the opposite bank with Fort Ontario. Against this outpost, Montcalm, on the twelfth of August, at midnight, opened his trenches. The next evening, the garrison having expended their ammunition, spiked their cannon, and retreated to Fort Oswego. Immediately he occupied the height, and turned such of the guns as were serviceable against the remaining fortress. His fire killed Mercer, the commander, and soon made a breach in the wall. On the fourteenth, just as he was preparing to storm the intrenchments, the garrison, about sixteen hundred in number, capitulated. The prisoners of war descended the St. Lawrence; their colors were sent as trophies to decorate the churches of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec; one hundred and twenty cannon, six vessels of war, three hundred boats, stores of ammunition and provisions, and three chests of money, fell to the conquerors. The missionaries planted a cross bearing the words: "This is the banner of victory;" by its side rose a pillar with the arms of France, and the inscription: "Bring lilies with full hands." Expressions of triumphant ecstasy broke from Montcalm; but, to allay all jealousy of the red men, he razed the forts and left Oswego a solitude. Webb, after felling trees

at the Oneida portage to obstruct any inroad of the French, fled in terror to Albany.

Loudoun approved placing obstacles between his army and the enemy; for he "was extremely anxious about an attack" from the French while "flushed with success." "If it had been made on the provincials alone, it would," he complacently asserted, "have been followed with very fatal consequences." Provincials had saved the remnant of Braddock's army; provincials had conquered Acadia; provincials had defeated Dieskau: but Abercrombie and his chief sheltered their own imbecility under complaints of America. After wasting a few more weeks in busy inactivity, Loudoun, whose forces could have penetrated to the heart of Canada, left the French to construct a fort at Ticonderoga, and dismissed the provincials to their homes, the regulars to winter quarters. Of the latter, a thousand were sent to New York, where free quarters for the officers were demanded of the city. The demand was resisted by the mayor, as contrary to the laws of England and the liberties of America. "Free quarters are everywhere usual," answered the commander-in-chief; "I assert it on my honor, which is the highest evidence you can require." The citizens pleaded in reply their privileges as Englishmen, by the common law, by the petition of right, and by acts of parliament. Furious at the remonstrance, the "viceroy," with an oath, answered the mayor: "If you do not billet my officers upon free quarters this day, I'll order here all the troops in North America under my command, and billet them myself upon the city." So the magistrates got up a subscription for the winter support of officers who had done nothing for the country but burden its resources. In Philadelphia, Loudoun uttered the same menace; and the storm was averted by a compromise. The frontier had been left open to the French; this quartering of troops in the principal towns at the expense of the inhabitants, by the illegal authority of a military chief, was the great result of the campaign.

Yet native courage flashed up in every part of the colonies. The false Delawares, from their village at Kittaning, within forty-five miles of Fort Duquesne, stained all the border of Pennsylvania with blood. To destroy them, three hundred

Pennsylvanians, conducted by John Armstrong, of Cumberland county, crossed the Alleghanies. On the seventh of September 1756, they marched thirty miles through unbroken forests, and at night were guided to the village by the beating of a drum and the whooping of warriors at a festival. On the margin of the river, they saw the fires near which the Indians, with no dreams of danger, took their rest. At daybreak, the attack on the Delawares began. Jacobs raised the war-whoop, crying: "The white men are come; we shall have scalps enough." The squaws and children fled to the woods; the warriors fought with desperate bravery and skill as marksmen. "We are men," they shouted; "we will not be made prisoners." The town being set on fire, some of them sang their death-song in the flames. Their store of powder, which was enough for a long war, scattered destruction as it exploded. Jacobs and others, attempting flight, were shot and scalped; the town was burnt to ashes, never to be rebuilt by savages. But the Americans lost sixteen men; and Armstrong was among the wounded. Hugh Mercer, captain of the company which suffered most, was hit by a musket-ball in the arm, and, with five others, separated from the main body; but, guided by the stars and rivulets, they found their way back. Pennsylvania has given the name of Armstrong to the county that includes the battle-field.

At the same time, two hundred men, three fifths of whom were provincials, under the command of Captain Demeré, were engaged in completing the new Fort Loudoun, near the junction of the Tellico and the Tennessee. The Cherokees were much divided in sentiment; "Use all means you think proper," wrote Lyttelton, "to induce our Indians to take up the hatchet; promise a reward to every man who shall bring in the scalp of a Frenchman or of a French Indian."

In December, the Six Nations sent a hundred and eighty delegates to meet the Nipisings, the Algonkins, the Pottawatomies, and the Ottawas at Montreal. All promised neutrality; though the young braves wished to join the French, and trod the English medals under foot.

In England, the cabinet commanded a subservient majority, and yet was crumbling in pieces from its incapacity and

the weariness of the people of England at the unmixed government of the aristocracy. The great commoner, a poor and now a private man, "prepared to take the reins out of such hands;" and the influence of popular opinion came in aid of his just ambition. In June 1756, Prince George, being eighteen, became of age; and Newcastle, with the concurrence of the king, would have separated his establishment from that of his mother. They both were opposed to the separation; and Pitt exerted his influence against it with a zeal and activity of which they were most sensible.

The earl of Bute had been one of the lords of the bedchamber to the late prince of Wales, who used to call him "a fine, showy man, such as would make an excellent ambassador in a court where there was no business." He was ambitious, yet his personal timidity loved to lean on a nature firmer than his own. Though his learning was small, he was willing to be thought a man who could quote Horace, and find pleasure in Virgil and Columella. He had an air of the greatest importance, and in look and manner assumed an extraordinary appearance of wisdom. As a consistent and obsequious royalist, he retained the confidence of the princess dowager, and was the instructor of the future sovereign of England in the theory of the British constitution. On the organization of his household, Prince George desired to have him about his person.

The request of the prince, which Pitt supported, was resisted by Newcastle and by Hardwicke. To embroil the royal family, the latter did not hesitate to assail the reputation of the mother of the heir-apparent by tales of malicious scandal. In the first public act of Prince George, he displayed the persistency of his character. Heedless of the prime minister and the chancellor, but with many professions of duty to the king, he expressed "his desires, nay, his fixed resolutions," to have "the free choice of his servants." Having trifled with the resentment of the successor and his mother, Newcastle became terrified and yielded.

Restless at sharing the disgrace of an administration which met everywhere with defeat except in the venal house of commons, Fox declared "his situation impracticable," and left the cabinet. At the same time, Murray, refusing to serve longer

as attorney-general, would be lord chief justice with a peerage, or retire to private life. The place had been vacant a term and a circuit; Newcastle dared not make more delay; and the influence of Bute and Prince George prevailed to bring Murray as Lord Mansfield upon the bench. No one was left in the house who, even with a sure majority, dared attempt to cope with Pitt. Newcastle sought to negotiate with him. "A plain man," he answered, "unpracticed in the policy of a court, must never presume to be the associate of so experienced a minister." "Write to him yourself," said Newcastle to Hardwicke; "don't boggle at it; you see the king wishes it; Lady Yarmouth advises it;" and Hardwicke saw him. But Pitt, after a three hours' interview, gave him a totally negative answer, unless there should be a change both of "the duke of Newcastle and his measures;" and at last, unable to gain recruits, the leader of the whig aristocracy, having still an undoubted majority in the house of commons, was compelled to recognise the power of opinion in England as greater than his own, and most reluctantly resigned. The exclusive whig party, which had ruled since the accession of the house of Hanover, had never possessed the affection of the people of England, and no longer enjoyed its confidence.

At this time Pitt found the earl of Bute "transcendingly obliging;" and, from the young heir to the throne, "expressions" were repeated "so decisive of determined purposes" of favor "in the present or any future day," that "his own lively imagination could not have suggested a wish beyond them." In December 1756, the man of the people, the sincere lover of liberty, having on his side the English nation, of which he was the noblest type, formed a ministry.

But the transition in England from the rule of the aristocracy to a greater degree of popular influence could not as yet take place. If there was an end of the old aristocratic rule, it was not clear what would come in its stead. The condition of the new minister was seen to be precarious. On entering office, Pitt's health was so infirm that he took the oath at his own house, though the record bears date at St. James's. The house of commons, which he was to lead, had been chosen under the direction of Newcastle whom he superseded. George

II., spiritless and undiscerning, liked subjection to genius still less than to aristocracy. On the other hand, Prince George, in March 1757, sent assurances to Pitt of "the firm support and countenance" of the heir to the throne. "Go on, my dear Pitt," said Bute; "make every bad subject your declared enemy, every honest man your real friend. How much we think alike! I, for my part, am unalterably your most affectionate friend." But in the house of commons, the friends of Newcastle were too powerful; in the council, the king encouraged opposition.

America was become the great object of European attention; Pitt, disregarding the churlish cavils of the lords of trade, pursued toward the colonies the generous policy which afterward called forth all their strength. He respected their liberties and relied on their willing co-operation. Halifax was planning taxation by parliament; in January 1757, the British press defended the scheme, and the project of an American stamp act was pressed upon Pitt. "With the enemy at their backs, with English bayonets at their breast, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans," thought he, "would submit to the imposition;" but he scorned "to take an unjust and ungenerous advantage" of them. To uproot disloyalty from the mountains of Scotland, he sought in them defenders of America; and two battalions, each of a thousand Highlanders, were soon after raised for the service.

As yet he was thwarted at every step. Without a change in the cabinet, the duke of Cumberland was unwilling to take the command in Germany. Temple was therefore dismissed; and, as Pitt did not resign, the king, in the first week in April, discarded him. England was in a state of anarchy, to which affairs in America corresponded.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WHIG ARISTOCRACY CANNOT CONQUER CANADA. ANARCHY IN THE ADMINISTRATION.

1757.

The rangers at Fort William Henry defy the winter. The forests, pathless with snows; the frozen lake; the wilderness, which has no shelter against cold and storms; the perilous ambush, where defeat may be followed by the scalping-knife, or tortures, or captivity among remotest tribes—all cannot chill their daring. On skates they glide over the lakes; on snow-shoes they pass through the woods. In January 1757, the gallant Stark, with seventy-four rangers, goes down Lake George, and turns the strong post of Carillon. A French party of ten or eleven sledges is driving merrily from Ticonderoga to Crown Point. Stark sallies forth to attack them; three are taken, with twice as many horses, and seven prisoners. But, before he can reach the water's edge, he is intercepted by a party of two hundred and fifty French and Indians. Sheltered by trees and a rising ground, he renews and sustains the unequal fight till evening. In the night, the survivors retreat; a sleigh, sent over the lake, brings home the wounded. Fourteen rangers had fallen, six were missing. Those who remained alive were applauded, and Stark received promotion.

The French are still more adventurous. A detachment of fifteen hundred men, part regulars and part Canadians, are to follow the younger Vaudreuil in a winter's expedition against Fort William Henry. They must travel sixty leagues; snow-shoes on their feet; their provisions on sledges drawn by dogs; their couch at night, a bear-skin; thus they go over Champlain, over Lake George. On St. Patrick's night, a man in front

tries the strength of the ice with an axe; the ice-spurs ring as the party advance over the crystal highway, with scaling ladders, to surprise the English fort. But the garrison was on the watch; and the enemy could only burn the English batteaux and sloops, the storehouses and huts within the pickets.

For the campaign of 1757, the northern colonies, still eager to extend the English limits, at a congress of governors in Boston, in January, agreed to raise four thousand men. The governors of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, meeting at Philadelphia, settled the quotas for their governments, but only as the groundwork for compulsory measures.

Of Pennsylvania, the people had never been numbered; yet, with the counties on Delaware, were believed to be not less than two hundred thousand, of whom thirty thousand were able to bear arms. It had no militia established by law; but forts and garrisons protected the frontier, at the annual cost to the province of seventy thousand pounds currency. To the grant in the former year of sixty thousand pounds, the assembly had added a supplement of one hundred thousand more, taxing the property of the proprietaries in its fair proportion; but they refused to contribute anything to a general fund. The salary of the governor was either not paid at all, or not till the close of the year. When any office was created, the names of those who were to execute it were inserted in the bill, with a clause reserving to the assembly the right of nomination in case of death. Sheriffs, coroners, and all persons connected with the treasury, were thus named by the people annually, and were responsible only to their constituents. The assembly could not be prorogued or dissolved, and adjourned itself at its own pleasure. It assumed almost all executive power, and scarce a bill came up without an attempt to encroach on the little residue. "In the Jerseys and in Pennsylvania," wrote Loudoun, thinking to influence the mind of Pitt, "the majority of the assembly is composed of Quakers; while that is the case, they will always oppose every measure of government, and support that independence which is deep-rooted everywhere in this country. If some method is not found out of laying on a tax for the support of a war in America by a British act of

parliament, you will continue to have no assistance from them in money, and will have very little in men, if they are wanted." The deadlock sprung from the unreasonable and obstinate selfishness of the proprietaries. The people of Pennsylvania looked to parliament for relief from their obstructive rule; and, in February 1757, Benjamin Franklin was chosen agent "to represent in England the unhappy situation of the province, that all occasion of dispute hereafter might be removed by an act of the British legislature."

While Franklin was at New York to take passage, and there was no ministry in England to restrain the lords of trade, the house of commons adopted the memorable resolve, that "the claim of right in a colonial assembly to raise and apply public money, by its own act alone, is derogatory to the crown and to the rights of the people of Great Britain;" and this resolve was authoritatively communicated to every American assembly. "The people of Pennsylvania," said Thomas Penn, "will soon be convinced by the house of commons, as well as by the ministers, that they have not a right to the powers of government they claim." "Your American assemblies," said Granville, president of the privy council, to Franklin, soon after his arrival, "slight the king's instructions. They are drawn up by grave men, learned in the laws and constitution of the realm; they are brought into council, thoroughly weighed, well considered, and amended, if necessary, by the wisdom of that body; and, when received by the governors, they are the laws of the land; for the king is the leg islator of the colonies." This doctrine fell on Franklin as new, and was never effaced from his memory. In its preceding session, parliament had laid grievous restrictions on the export of provisions from the British colonies. The act produced a remonstrance from their agents. "America," answered Granville, "must not do anything to interfere with Great Britain in the European markets." "If we plant and reap, and must not ship," retorted Franklin, "your lordship should apply to parliament for transports to bring us all back again."

In America, the summer passed as might have been expected from "detachments under commanders whom a child

might outwit or terrify with a popgun." To Bouquet was assigned the watch on the frontiers of Carolina; Stanwix, with about two thousand men, had charge of the West; while Webb was left, with nearly six thousand men, to defend the avenue to Lake George; and, on the twentieth day of June, the earl of Loudoun, having first incensed all America by a useless embargo, and having in New York, at one sweep, impressed four hundred men, weighed anchor for Halifax. Four British regiments, two battalions of royal Americans, and five companies of rangers, accompanied him. "His sailing," said the Canadians, "is a hint for us to project something on this frontier." Loudoun reached Halifax on the last day of June, and found detachments from England already there; on the ninth of July the entire armament was assembled.

At that time, Newcastle was "reading Loudoun's letters with attention and satisfaction," and praising his "great diligence and ability." "My lord," said he, "mentions an act of parliament to be passed here; I don't well understand what he means by it." Prince George was specially thoughtful to guard America against free-thinkers, and sent over a hundred pounds' worth of answers to deistical writers.

Loudoun found himself in Halifax at the head of an admirable army of ten thousand men, with a fleet of sixteen ships of the line besides frigates. There he landed, levelled the uneven ground for a parade, planted a vegetable garden as a precaution against the scurvy, exercised the men in mock battles and sieges and stormings of fortresses, and, when August came, and the spirit of the army was broken, and Hay, a major-general, expressed contempt so loudly as to be arrested, the troops were embarked, as if for Louisburg. But, ere the ships sailed, the reconnoitring vessels came with news that the French at Cape Breton had one ship more than the English; and the plan of the campaign was changed. Part of the soldiers landed again at Halifax; and the earl of Loudoun, leaving his garden and place of arms to weeds and briers, sailed for New York. He had been but two days out when he was met by an express, with such tidings as were to have been expected.

How peacefully rest the waters of Lake George between their rampart of highlands! In their pellucid depths the

cliffs and the hills and the trees trace their image; and the beautiful region speaks to the heart, teaching affection for nature. As yet not a hamlet rose on its margin; not a straggler had thatched a log hut in its neighborhood; only at its head, near the centre of a wider opening between its mountains, Fort William Henry stood on its bank, almost on a level with the lake. Lofty hills overhung and commanded the wild scene, but heavy artillery had not as yet accompanied war-parties into the wilderness.

The Oneidas danced the war-dance with Vaudreuil. "We will try the hatchet of our father on the English, to see if it cuts well," said the Senecas of Niagara; and when Johnson complained of depredations on his cattle, "You begin crying quite early," they answered; "you will soon see other things."

"The English have built a fort on the lands of Onondio," spoke Vaudreuil, governor of New France, to a congress at Montreal of the warriors of three-and-thirty nations, who had come together, some from the rivers of Maine and Acadia, some from the wilderness round Lake Huron and Lake Superior. "I am ordered," he continued, "to destroy it. Go, witness what I shall do, that, when you return to your mats, you may recount what you have seen." They took his belt of wampum, and answered: "Father, we are come to do your will." Day after day, at Montreal, Montcalm sung the war-song with the several tribes. They rallied at Fort St. John, on the Sorel, their missionaries with them; and hymns were chanted in almost as many dialects as there were nations. On the sixth day, as they discerned the battlements of Ticonderoga, the fleet arranged itself in order; and two hundred canoes, filled with braves, each nation with its own pennons, swept over the water to the landing-place. The martial airs of France, and shouts in the many tongues of the red men, resounded among the rocks and forests and mountains. The mass, too, was solemnly said; and to the Abenaki converts, seated reverently, in decorous silence, on the ground, the priest urged the duty of honoring Christianity by their example, in the presence of so many infidel braves.

It was a season of scarcity in Canada. None had been left unmolested to plough and plant; the miserable inhabitants had

no bread. But small stores were collected for the army. They must conquer speedily or disband. "On such an expedition," said Montcalm to his officers, "a blanket and a bear-skin are the warrior's couch. Do like me with cheerful good-will. The soldier's allowance is enough for us."

During the short period of preparation, Marin brought back his two hundred men from the skirts of Fort Edward. "He did not amuse himself with making prisoners," said Montcalm, on seeing but one captive; and the red men yelled for joy as they counted in the canoes two-and-forty scalps of Englishmen.

The Ottawas watched in ambuscades all the twenty-third of July, and all the following night, for the American boatmen. At daybreak of the twenty-fourth, Palmer was seen on the lake in command of two-and-twenty barges. The Indians rushed on his party suddenly, terrified them by their yells, and, after killing many, took one hundred and sixty prisoners. "To-morrow or next day," said the captives, "General Webb will be at the fort with fresh troops." "No matter," said Montcalm; "in less than twelve days I will have a good story to tell about them." The timid Webb went, it is true, to Fort William Henry, but took care to leave it with a large escort, just in season to escape from its siege.

It is the custom of the red man, after success, to avoid the further chances of war and hurry home. "To remain now," said the Ottawas, "would be to tempt the master of life." But Montcalm, after the boats and canoes had, without oxen or horses, been borne up to Lake George, held on the plain above the portage one general council of union. The many tribes were seated on the ground according to their rank; and, in the name of Louis XV., Montcalm produced the mighty belt of six thousand shells, which, being solemnly accepted, bound all by the holiest ties to remain together till the end of the expedition. The belt was given to the Iroquois, as the most numerous; but they courteously transferred it to the upper nations, who came, though strangers, to their aid. In the scarcity of boats, the Iroquois agreed to guide Levi, with twenty-five hundred men, through the rugged country which they called their own.

The Christian savages employed their short leisure at the confessional; the tribes from above, restlessly weary, dreamed dreams, consulted the great medicine men, and, hanging up the complete equipment of a war-chief as an offering to their manitou, embarked on the last day of July in their decorated canoes.

The next day, two hours after noon, Montcalm followed with the main body of the army, in two hundred and fifty boats. Rain fell in torrents; yet they rowed nearly all the night, till they came in sight of the three triangular fires that, from a mountain ridge, pointed to the encampment of Levi. There, in Ganousky, or, as some call it, North-west bay, they held a council of war; and then, with the artillery, they moved slowly to a bay, of which the point could not be turned without exposure to the enemy. An hour before midnight, a couple of English boats were descried on the lake, when some of the upper Indians paddled two canoes to attack them, and with such celerity that one of the boats was seized and overpowered. Two prisoners being reserved, the rest were massacred. The Indians lost one warrior, a great chieftain of the nation of the Nipisings.

On the morning of the second day of August, the savages dashed openly upon the water, and, forming across the lake a chain of their bark canoes, they made the bay resound with their war-cry. The English were taken almost by surprise. Their tents still covered the plains. Montcalm disembarked without interruption, about a mile and a half below the fort, and advanced in three columns. The Indians hurried to burn the barracks of the English, to chase their cattle and horses, to scalp their stragglers. During the day they occupied, with Canadians under La Corne, the road leading to the Hudson, and cut off the communication. At the north was the encampment of Levi, with regulars and Canadians; while Montcalm, with the main body of the army, occupied the skirt of the wood, on the west side of the lake. His force consisted of six thousand French and Canadians, and about seventeen hundred Indians. Fort William Henry was defended by the brave Lieutenant-Colonel Monro, with less than five hundred men, while seventeen hundred men lay intrenched on the

eminence to the south-east, now marked by the ruins of Fort George.

Meantime, the braves of the Nipisings, faithful to the rites of their fathers, celebrated the funeral of their departed warrior. The lifeless frame, dressed as became a war-chief, glittered with belts and ear-rings and brilliant vermilion; a ribbon, fiery red, supported a gorget on his breast; the tomahawk was in his girdle, the pipe at his lips, the lance in his hand, at his side the well-filled bowl; and thus he sat upright on the green turf. The speech for the dead was pronounced; the dances and chants followed; human voices mingled with the sound of drums and tinkling bells. Thus seated and arrayed, he was consigned to the grave.

On the fourth of August, the French summoned Monro to surrender; but he sent an answer of defiance. Montcalm hastened his works; the troops dragged the artillery over rocks and through the forests, and with alacrity brought fascines and gabions. Soon the first battery, of nine cannon and two mortars, was finished; and, amid the loud screams of the savages, it began to play, with a thousand echoes from the mountains. In two days more, a second was established, and, by means of the zigzags, the Indians could stand within gun-shot of the fortress. Just then arrived letters from France, conferring on Montcalm the red ribbon, with rank as knight commander of the order of St. Louis. "We are glad," said the red men, "of the favor done you by the great Onondio; but we neither love you nor esteem you the more for it; we love the man, and not what hangs on his outside." Webb, at Fort Edward, had an army of four thousand, and might have summoned the militia from all the near villages to the rescue. He sent nothing but a letter, with an exaggerated account of the French force, and advice to capitulate. Montcalm intercepted the letter, and immediately forwarded it to Monro. Yet not till the eve of the festival of St. Lawrence, when half his guns were burst and his ammunition was almost exhausted, did the dauntless veteran hang out a flag of truce.

To make the capitulation inviolably binding on the Indians, Montcalm summoned their war-chiefs to council. The English were to depart under an escort with the honors of war, on

a pledge not to serve against the French for eighteen months; they were to abandon all but their private effects; every Canadian or French Indian captive was to be liberated. The Indians applauded; the capitulation was signed. Late on the ninth, the French entered the fort, and the English retired to their intrenched camp.

Montcalm had kept from the savages all intoxicating drinks; but they obtained them of the English, and all night long were wild with dances and songs and revelry. The Abenakis of Acadia inflamed other tribes by recalling their sufferings from English perfidy and power. At daybreak, they gathered round the intrenchments, and, as the terrified English soldiers filed off, began to plunder them, and incited one another to use the tomahawk. Twenty, perhaps even thirty, persons were massacred, while very many were made prisoners. Officers and soldiers, stripped of everything, fled to the woods, to the fort, to the tents of the French. To arrest the disorder, Levi plunged into the tumult, daring death a thousand times. French officers received wounds in rescuing the captives, and stood at their tents as sentries over those they had recovered. "Kill me," cried Montcalm, using prayers and menaces and promises; "but spare the English, who are under my protection;" and he urged the troops to defend themselves. The march to Fort Edward was a flight; not more than six hundred reached there in a body. From the French camp, Montcalm collected together more than four hundred, who were dismissed with a great escort; and he sent Vaudreuil to ransom those whom the Indians had carried away.

After the surrender of Fort William Henry, the savages retired. Twelve hundred men were employed to demolish the fort, and nearly a thousand to lade the vast stores that had been given up. As Montcalm withdrew, he praised his happy fortune, that his victory was, on his own side, almost bloodless, his loss in killed and wounded being but fifty-three. The Canadian peasants returned to gather their harvests, and the lake resumed its solitude. Nothing told that civilized man had reposed upon its margin but the charred rafters of ruins, and here and there, on the side-hill, a crucifix among the pines to mark a grave.

Pusillanimity pervaded the English camp. Webb at Fort Edward, with six thousand men, was expecting to be attacked every minute. He sent off his own baggage, and wished to retreat to the highlands on the Hudson. "For God's sake," wrote the officer in command at Albany to the governor of Massachusetts, "exert yourselves to save a province; New York itself may fall; save a country; prevent the downfall of the British government." Pownall ordered the inhabitants west of Connecticut river to destroy their wheel-carriages and drive in their cattle. Loudoun proposed to encamp on Long Island, for the defence of the continent. Every day it was rumored: "My Lord Loudoun goes soon to Albany;" and still each day found him at New York. "We have a great number of troops," said even royalists; "but the inhabitants on the frontier will not be one jot the safer for them."

The English had been driven from the basin of the Ohio; Montcalm had destroyed every vestige of their power within that of the St. Lawrence; and the claim of France to the valleys of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence seemed established by possession. France had her posts on each side of the lakes, and at Detroit, at Mackinaw, at Kaskaskia, and at New Orleans. Of the North American continent, the French claimed, and seemed to possess, twenty parts in twenty-five, leaving four only to Spain, and but one to Britain. In Europe, Russia had been evoked to be the arbiter of Germany; Minorca was lost; for Hanover, Cumberland had acceded to a shameful treaty of neutrality. The government of the English aristocracy paralyzed the immense energies of the British empire.

And yet sentence had been passed upon feudal monarchy, whose day of judgment the enthusiast Swedenborg had foretold. The English aristocracy, being defeated, summoned to their aid not, indeed, the rule of the people, but at least the favor of the people. The first English minister named by parliamentary influence was Shaftesbury; the first named by popular influence was the elder William Pitt. A private man, in middle life, with no fortune, with no party, with no strong family connections, having few votes under his sway in the house of commons, and perhaps not one in the house of

lords; a feeble valetudinarian, shunning pleasure and society, haughty and retired, and half his time disabled by hereditary gout—was now the hope of the English world. Assuming the direction of the war, he roused the states of Protestantism to wage a war for mastery against the despotic monarchy and the institutions of the middle ages, and to secure to humanity its futurity of freedom. Protestantism is not humanity; its name implies a party struggling to throw off burdens of the past, and ceasing to be a renovating principle when its protest shall have succeeded. It was now for the last time, as a political element, summoned to appear upon the theatre of the nations, to control their alliances, and to perfect its triumph by leaving no occasion for its reappearance in arms. Its final, victorious struggle was the forerunner of a new civilization; its last war was first in the series of the wars of revolution that founded for the world of mankind the life of the nation and the power of the people.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CATHOLIC POWERS OF THE MIDDLE AGE AGAINST THE NEW PROTESTANT POWERS. WILLIAM PITT'S MINISTRY.

1757.

"THE orator is vastly well provided for," thought Bedford, in 1746, on the appointment of William Pitt to a subordinate office of no political influence. "I assure your grace of my warmest gratitude," wrote Pitt himself, in 1750, to Newcastle, who falsely pretended to have spoken favorably of him to the king; and now, in defiance of Bedford and Newcastle, and the antipathy of the king, he is become the foremost man in England, received into the ministry as its "guide," because he was the choice of the people, and alone by his greatness of soul and commanding eloquence could restore the state.

On his dismissal in April, no man had the hardihood to accept his place. A storm of indignation burst from the nation. To Pitt, and to Legge, who with Pitt had opposed the Russian treaty, London and other cities voted its freedom; unexampled discontent pervaded the country. Newcastle, whose pusillanimity exceeded his vanity, dared not attempt forming a ministry; and, by declining to do so, renewed his confession that the government of Great Britain could no longer be administered by a party which had for its principle to fight up alike against the king and against the people. Granville would have infused his jovial intrepidity into the junto of Fox; but Fox was desponding. Bedford had his scheme, which he employed Rigby to establish; and, when it proved impracticable, grew angry, and withdrew to Woburn Abbey. In the midst of war, the country was left to anarchy. "We are undone," said Chesterfield: "at home, by our in-

creasing expenses; abroad, by ill-luck and incapacity." The elector of Hesse-Cassel and the duke of Brunswick, destitute of the common honesty of hirelings, invited bids from the enemies of their lavish employer; the king of Prussia, Britain's only ally, seemed overwhelmed, Hanover reduced, and the French masters in America. So dark an hour England had not known during the century.

But the mind of Pitt always inclined to hope. "I am sure," said he to the duke of Devonshire, "I can save this country, and nobody else can." For eleven weeks England was without a ministry, so long was the agony, so desperate the resistance, so reluctant the surrender. At last, the king and the aristocracy were compelled to accept the man whom the nation trusted and loved. Made wise by experience, and relying on his own vigor of will for a controlling influence, he formed a ministry from many factions. Again Lord Anson, Hardwicke's son-in-law, took the highest seat at the board of the admiralty. Fox, who had children, and had wasted his fortune, accepted the place of paymaster, which the war made enormously lucrative. Newcastle had promised Halifax a new office as third secretary of state for the colonies. "I did not speak about it," was the duke's apology to him; "Pitt looked so much out of humor, I dared not." The disappointed man railed without measure at the knavery and cowardice of Newcastle; but Pitt reconciled him by leaving him his old post in the board of trade, with all its patronage, adding the dignity of a cabinet councillor. Henley, afterward Lord Northington, became lord chancellor, opening the way for Sir Charles Pratt to be made attorney-general; and George Grenville, though with rankling hatred of his brother-in-law for not bestowing on him the still more lucrative place of paymaster, took the treasuryship of the navy. The illustrious statesman himself, the ablest his country had seen since Cromwell, being resolved on making England the greatest nation in the world and himself its greatest minister, took the seals of the southern department with the conduct of the war in all parts of the globe, leaving to Newcastle the first seat at the treasury board with the disposition of bishoprics, petty offices, and contracts, and the management of "all the classes of venality." At that

day, the good-will of the people was, in England, the most uncertain tenure of office, for they had no strength in parliament; their favorite held power at the sufferance of the aristocracy. "I borrow," said Pitt, "the duke of Newcastle's majority to carry on the public business."

The new ministry kissed hands early in July 1757. "Sire," said the secretary, "give me your confidence, and I will deserve it." "Deserve my confidence," replied the king, "and you shall have it;" and kept his word. All England applauded the great commoner's elevation. John Wilkes, then just elected member of parliament, promised "steady support to the ablest minister, as well as the first character, of the age." Bearing a message from Leicester house, "Thank God," wrote Bute, "I see you in office. If even the wreck of this crown can be preserved to our amiable young prince, it is to your abilities he must owe it."

But Pitt knew himself called to the ministry neither by the king, nor by the parliament of the aristocracy, nor by Leicester house, but "by the voice of the people;" and the affairs of the empire were now directed by a man who had demanded for his countrymen an uncorrupted representation, a prevailing influence in designating ministers, and "a supreme service" from the king. Assuming power, he bent all factions to his authoritative will, and made "a venal age unanimous." The energy of his mind was the spring of his eloquence. His presence was inspiration; he himself was greater than his speeches. Others have uttered thoughts of beauty and passion, of patriotism and courage: none by words accomplished deeds like him. His voice resounded throughout the world, impelling the servants of the British state to achievements of glory on the St. Lawrence and along the Ganges. Animated by his genius, a corporation for trade did what Rome had not dreamed of; and a British merchant's clerk achieved conquests as rapidly as other men make journeys, resting his foot in permanent triumph where Alexander of Macedon had faltered. Ruling with unbounded authority the millions of free minds whose native tongue was his own, with but one considerable ally on the European continent, with no resources in America but from the good-will of the colonies, he led forth

the England which had planted popular freedom along the western shore of the Atlantic, the England which was still the model of liberty, to encounter the despotisms of Catholic Europe, and defend "the common cause" against what he called "the most powerful and malignant confederacy that ever threatened the independence of mankind."

The contest raged in both hemispheres. The American question was: Shall the continued colonization of North America be made under the auspices of English Protestantism and popular liberty, or of the legitimacy of France in its connection with Roman Catholic Christianity? The question of the European continent was: Shall a Protestant revolutionary kingdom, like Prussia, be permitted to grow strong within its heart? Considered in its unity, as interesting mankind, the question was: Shall the reformation, developed to the fulness of free inquiry, succeed in its protest against the middle age?

The war that closed in 1748 had been a mere scramble for advantages, and was sterile of results; the present conflict, which was to prove a seven years' war, was an encounter of reform against the unreformed; and all the predilections or personal antipathies of sovereigns and ministers could not prevent the alliances, collisions, and results necessary to make it so. George II., who was sovereign of Hanover, in September 1755, contracted with Russia for the defence of that electorate; but Russia, which was neither Catholic nor Protestant, tolerant in religion, though favoring absolutism in government, passed alternately from one camp to the other. England, the most liberal Protestant kingdom, had cherished intimate relations with Austria, the most legitimate Catholic power; and, to strengthen the connection, had scattered bribes with open hands to Mayence, Cologne, Bavaria, and the count palatine, to elect Joseph II. king of the Romans. Yet Austria was separating itself from its old ally, and forming a confederacy of the Catholic powers; while George II. was driven to lean on his nephew, Frederic, whom he disliked.

A deep, but perhaps unconscious conviction of approaching decrepitude bound together the legitimate Catholic sovereigns. In all Europe there was a striving after reform. Men were grown weary of the superstitions of the middle age; of

idlers and beggars, sheltering themselves in sanctuaries; of hopes of present improvement suppressed by the terrors of hell and purgatory; the countless monks and priests, whose vows of celibacy tempted to licentiousness. The lovers and upholders of the past desired a union among the governments that rested upon mediæval traditions. For years had it been whispered that the house of Austria should unite itself firmly with the house of Bourbon; and now the Empress Maria Theresa, herself a hereditary queen, a wife and a mother, religious even to bigotry, courted by a gift the Marchioness de Pompadour, who, under the guidance of Jesuits, gladly took up the office of mediating the alliance. Kaunitz, the minister who concealed political sagacity and an inflexible will under the semblance of luxurious ease, won favor as Austria's ambassador at the court of Versailles by his affectations and his prodigal expense. And in May 1756, that is, in the two hundred and eightieth year of the jealous strife between the houses of Hapsburg and of Capet, France and Austria put aside their ancient rivalry, and as exclusive Catholics joined to support the Europe of the middle age with its legitimate despotisms, its aristocracies, and its church, to the ruin of the kingdom of Prussia and the dismemberment of Germany.

Among the rulers of the European continent, Frederic, with but four millions of subjects, stood forth alone, "the unshaken bulwark of Protestantism and freedom of thought." His kingdom itself was the offspring of the reformation, in its origin revolutionary and Protestant. His father—whose palace life was conducted with the economy and simplicity of the German middle class; at whose evening entertainments a wooden chair, a pipe, and a mug of beer were placed for each of the guests that assembled to discuss politics with their prince; harsh as a parent, severe as a master, despotic as a sovereign—received with scrupulous piety every article of the reformed creed. His son, who inherited an accumulated treasure and the best army in Europe, publicly declared his opinion that, "politically considered, Protestantism was the most desirable religion;" that "his royal electoral house, without one example of apostasy, had professed it for centuries." As the contest advanced, Clement XIII. commemorated an Austrian

victory over Prussia by the present of a consecrated cap and sword; while, in the weekly concerts for prayer in New England, petitions went up for the Prussian hero "who had drawn his sword in the cause of religious liberty, of the Protestant interest, and the liberties of Europe." "His victories," said Mayhew, of Boston, "are our own."

The reformation was an expression of the right of the human intellect to freedom. The same principle was active in France, where philosophy panted for liberty; where Massillon had hinted that kings are chosen for the welfare of the people, and Voltaire had marshalled the men of letters against priestcraft. Monarchy itself was losing its sanctity. The Bourbons had risen to the throne through the frank and generous Henry IV., who, in the sports of childhood, played barefoot and bareheaded with the peasant boys on the mountains of Béarn. The cradle of Louis XV. was rocked in the pestilent atmosphere of the regency; his tutor, when from the palace-windows he pointed out the multitudes, had said to the royal child: "Sire, this people is yours;" and, as he grew old in profligate sensuality, he joined the mechanism of superstition with the maxims of absolutism, mitigating his dread of hell by the belief that Heaven is indulgent to the licentiousness of kings who maintain the church by the sword. In France, therefore, there was no alliance between the government and liberal opinion; and that opinion migrated from Versailles to the court of Prussia. The renovating intelligence of France declared against Louis XV., and, awaiting a better summons for its perfect sympathy, saw in Frederic the present hero of light and reason. Thus the subtle and pervading influence of the inquisitive mind of France was arrayed with England, Prussia, and America—that is, with Protestantism, philosophic freedom, and the nascent democracy, in their struggle with the conspiracy of European prejudice and legitimacy, of priestcraft and despotism.

The centre of that conspiracy was the empress of Austria with the apostate elector of Saxony, who was king of Poland. Aware of the forming combination, Frederic resolved to attack his enemies before they were prepared; and, in August 1756, he invaded Saxony, took Dresden, blockaded the elector's army

at Pirna, gained a victory over the imperial forces that were advancing for its relief, and closed the campaign in the middle of October, by compelling it to capitulate. In the following winter, the alliances against him were completed; and not Saxony only, and Austria, with Hungary, but the German empire, half the German states; Russia, not from motives of public policy, but from a woman's caprice; Sweden, subservient to the Catholic powers through the degrading ascendency of its nobility; France, as the ally of Austria—more than half the continent—took up arms against Frederic, who had no allies in the South or East or North, and in the West none but Hanover, with Hesse-Cassel and Brunswick. And, as for Spain, not even the offer from Pitt of the conditional restitution of Gibraltar and the evacuation of all English establishments on the Mosquito Shore and in the Bay of Honduras, nor any consideration whatever, could move the Catholic monarch "to draw the sword in favor of heretics."

As spring opened, Frederic hastened to meet the Austrian forces in Bohemia. They retired, under the command of Charles of Lorraine, abandoning well-stored magazines; and, in May 1757, for the preservation of Prague, risked a battle under its walls. After terrible carnage, the victory remained with Frederic, who at once framed the most colossal design that ever entered the mind of a soldier; to execute against Austria a series of measures like those against Saxony at Pirna, to besiege Prague and compel Charles of Lorraine to surrender. But the cautious Daun, a man of high birth, esteemed by the empress queen and beloved by the Catholic church, pressed slowly forward to raise the siege. Leaving a part of his army before Prague, Frederic went forth with the rest to attack the Austrian commander; and, on the eighteenth of June, attempted to storm his intrenchments on the heights of Colin. The brave Prussian battalions were repelled with disastrous loss, and left Frederic almost unattended. "Will you carry the battery alone?" demanded one of his lieutenants; on which the hero rode calmly toward the left wing and ordered a retreat.

The refined but feeble August William, prince of Prussia, had remained at Prague. "All men are children of one fa

ther:" thus Frederic had once reproved his pride of birth; "all are members of one family, and, for all your pride, are of equal birth and of the same blood. Would you stand above them? Then excel them in humanity, gentleness, and virtue." At heart opposed to the cause of mankind, the prince had from the first urged his brother to avoid the war; and at this time, when drops of bitterness were falling thickly into the hero's cup, he broke out into pusillanimous complaints, advising a shameful peace by concession to Austria. But Frederic's power was now first to appear: as victory fell away from him, he stood alone before his fellow-men, in unconquerable greatness.

Raising the siege of Prague, he conducted the retreat of one division of his army into Saxony, without loss; the other the prince of Prussia led in a manner contrary to the rules of war and to common sense, and more disastrous than the loss of a pitched battle. Frederic censured the dereliction harshly; in that day of disaster he would not tolerate a failure of duty, even in the heir to the throne.

The increasing dangers became terrible. "I am resolved," wrote Frederic, in July, "to save my country or perish." Colin became the war-cry of French and Russians, of Swedes and imperialists; Russians invaded his dominions on the east; Swedes from the North threatened Pomerania and Berlin; a vast army of the French was concentrating itself at Erfurt for the recovery of Saxony; while Austria, recruited by Bavaria and Würtemburg, was conquering Silesia. "The Prussians will win no more victories," wrote the queen of Poland. Death at this moment took from Frederic his mother, whom he loved most tenderly. A few friends remained faithful to him, cheering him by their correspondence. "Oh, that Heaven had heaped all ills on me alone!" said his affectionate sister; "I would have borne them with firmness." To the king of England he confessed his difficulties, and that he had nearly all Europe in arms against him. "I can furnish you no help," answered George II., and sought neutrality for Hanover.

In August, having vainly attempted to engage the enemy in Silesia in a pitched battle, Frederic repaired to the West, to encounter the united army of the imperialists and French. "I can leave you no larger garrison," was his message to Fink at

Dresden; "but be of good cheer; to keep the city will do you vast honor." On his way he learns that the Austrians have won a victory over Winterfeld and Bevern, his generals in Silesia; that Winterfeld had fallen; that Bevern had retreated to the lake near Breslau, and was opposed by the Austrians at Lissa. On the eighth of September, the day after the great disaster in Silesia, the duke of Cumberland, having been defeated and compelled to retire, signed for his army and for Hanover a convention of neutrality. Voltaire advised Frederic to imitate Cumberland. "If every string breaks," wrote Frederic to Ferdinand of Brunswick, "throw yourself into Magdeburg. Situated as we are, we must persuade ourselves that one of us is worth four others." Morning dawned on new miseries; night came without a respite to his cares. He spoke serenely of the path to eternal rest, and his own resolve to live and die free. "O my beloved people!" he exclaimed, "my wishes live but for you; to you belongs every drop of my blood, and from my heart I would gladly give my life for my country." And, reproving the meanness of spirit of Voltaire, "I am a man," he wrote, in October, in the moment of intensest danger; "born, therefore, to suffer; to the rigor of destiny I oppose my own constancy; menaced with shipwreck, I will breast the tempest, and think and live and die as a sovereign." In a week Berlin was in the hands of his enemies.

When, on the fourth of November, after various changes of position, the king of Prussia, with but twenty-one thousand six hundred men, resumed his encampment on the heights of Rossbach, the Prince de Rohan Soubise, who commanded the French and imperial army of more than sixty-four thousand, was sure of compelling him to surrender. On the morning of the fifth, the combined forces marched in flank to cut off his retreat. From the battlements of the old castle of Rossbach, Frederic gazed on their movement, at a glance penetrated their design, and, obeying the flush of his exulting mind, he on the instant made his dispositions for an attack. "Forward!" he cried, at half-past two; at three, not a Prussian remained in the village. He seemed to retreat toward Merseburg; but, concealed by the high land of Reichertswerben, the chivalrous Seidlitz, with the Prussian cavalry, having turned the right of

the enemy, planted his cannon on an eminence. Through the low ground beneath him they were marching in columns, in eager haste, their cavalry in front and at a distance from their infantry. A moment's delay, an inch of ground gained, and they would have come into line. But Seidlitz and his cavalry on their right, eight battalions of infantry on their left, with orders precise and exactly executed, bore down impetuously on the cumbrous columns, and routed them before they could form, and even before the larger part of the Prussian infantry could fire a shot. That victory at Rossbach gave to Prussia the consciousness of being a nation.

To his minister Frederic sent word of this beginning of success; but far "more was necessary." He had but obtained freedom to seek new dangers; and, hastening to relieve Schweidnitz, he wrote to a friend: "This, for me, has been a year of horror; to save the state, I dare the impossible." But already Schweidnitz had surrendered. On the twenty-second of November, Prince Bevern was surprised and taken prisoner, with a loss of eight thousand men. His successor in the command retreated to Glogau. On the twenty-fourth, Breslau was basely given up, and nearly all its garrison entered the Austrian service. Silesia seemed restored to Maria Theresa. "Does hope expire," said Frederic, "the strong man must stand forth in his strength."

Not till the second day of December did the drooping army from Glogau join the king. Every power was exerted to revive their confidence. By degrees they catch something of his inspiring resoluteness; they share the spirit and the daring of the victors of Rossbach; they burn to efface their own ignominy. Yet the Austrian army of sixty thousand men, under Charles of Lorraine and Marshal Daun, veteran troops and more than double in number to the Prussians, were advancing, as if to crush them and end the war. "The marquis of Brandenburg," said Voltaire, "will lose his hereditary estates, as well as those which he has won by conquest."

Assembling his principal officers beneath a beech-tree, between Neumarkt and Leuthen, Frederic addressed them with a gush of eloquence: "While I was restraining the French and imperialists, Charles of Lorraine has succeeded in conquering

Schweidnitz, repulsing Prince Bevern, mastering Breslau. A part of Silesia, my capital, my stores of war, are lost; my disasters would be extreme had I not a boundless trust in your courage, firmness, and love of country. There is not one of you but has distinguished himself by some great and honorable deed. The moment for courage has come. Listen, then: I am resolved, against all rules of the art of war, to attack the nearly threefold stronger army of Charles of Lorraine, wherever I may find it. There is no question of the number of the enemy, nor of the strength of their position; we must beat them or all of us find our graves before their batteries. Thus I think, thus I mean to act; announce my decision to all the officers of my army; prepare the privates for the scenes which are at hand; let them know I demand unqualified obedience. They are Prussians; they will not show themselves unworthy of the name. Does any one of you fear to share all dangers with me, he can this day retire; I never will reproach him." Then, as the enthusiasm kindled around him, he continued, with a serene smile: "I know that not one of you will leave me. I rely on your true aid, and am assured of victory. If I fall, the country must reward you. Go, tell your regiments what you have heard from me." And he added: "The regiment of cavalry which shall not instantly, at the order, charge, shall be dismounted and sent into garrisons; the battalion of infantry that shall but falter shall lose its colors and its swords. Now farewell, friends; soon we shall have vanquished, or we shall see each other no more."

On the morning of December fifth, at half-past four, the army was in motion, the king in front, the troops to warlike strains singing—

Grant, Lord, that we may do with might
That which our hands shall find to do!

"With men like these," said Frederic, "God will give me the victory."

The Austrians were animated by no common kindling impulse. The Prussians, on that day, moved as one being, endowed with intelligence, and swayed by one will. Never had daring so combined with prudence as in the arrangements of Frederic. His eye seized every advantage of place, and his

manœuvres were inspired by the state of his force and the character of the ground. The hills and the valleys, the copses and the fallow land, the mists of morning and the clear light of noon, came to meet his dispositions, so that nature seemed instinct with the resolve to conspire with his genius. Never had orders been so executed as his on that day; and never did military genius, in its necessity, so summon invention to its rescue from despair. His line was formed to make an acute angle with that of the Austrians; as he moved forward, his left wing was kept disengaged; his right came in contact with the enemy's left, outwinged it, and attacked it in front and flank; the bodies which Lorraine sent to its support were defeated successively, before they could form, and were rolled back in confused masses. Lorraine was compelled to change his front for the defence of Leuthen; the victorious Prussian army advanced to continue the attack, now bringing its left wing into action. Leuthen was carried by storm, and the Austrians were driven to retreat, losing more than six thousand in killed and wounded, more than twenty-one thousand in prisoners. The battle, which began at half-past one, was finished at five. It was the masterpiece of motion and decision, of moral firmness and warlike genius; the greatest military deed, thus far, of the century. That victory confirmed existence to the country where Kant and Lessing were carrying free inquiry to the sources of human knowledge. The soldiers knew how the rescue of their nation hung on that battle; and, as a grenadier on the field of carnage began to sing, "Thanks be to God," the whole army, in the darkness of evening, standing amid thousands of the dead, uplifted the hymn of praise.

Daun fled into Bohemia, leaving in Breslau a garrison of twenty thousand men. Frederic astonished Europe by gaining possession of that city, reducing Schweidnitz, and recovering all Silesia. The Russian army, which, under Apraxin, had won a victory on the north-east, was arrested in its movements by intrigues at home. Prussia was saved. In this terrible campaign, two hundred and sixty thousand men stood against seven hundred thousand, and had not been conquered.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONQUEST OF LOUISBURG AND THE VALLEY OF THE OHIO. WILLIAM PITT'S MINISTRY CONTINUED.

1757–1758.

THE Protestant nations compared Frederic to Gustavus Adolphus, as the defender of the reformation and of freedom. With a vigor of hope like his own, Pitt, who always supported the Prussian king with fidelity and eight days before the battle of Rossbach had authorized him to place Ferdinand of Brunswick at the head of the English army on the continent, planned the conquest of the colonies of France. Through the under-secretaries, Franklin gave him advice on the conduct of the American war, criticised the measures proposed by others, and enforced the conquest of Canada.

In the house of commons, Lord George Sackville made the apology of Loudoun. "Nothing is done, nothing attempted," said Pitt, with vehement asperity. "We have lost all the waters; we have not a boat on the lakes. Every door is open to France." Loudoun was recalled, and added one more to the military officers who advised the magisterial exercise of British authority and voted in parliament to sustain it by fire and sword.

Rejecting the coercive policy of his predecessors, Pitt invited the New England colonies and New York and New Jersey, each without limit, to raise as many men as possible, believing them "well able to furnish at least twenty thousand," for the expedition against Montreal and Quebec; while Pennsylvania and the southern colonies were to aid in conquering the West. He assumed that England should provide arms, ammunition, and tents; he "expected and required" nothing

of the colonists but "the levying, clothing, and pay of the men;" and for these expenses he promised that the king should "strongly recommend to parliament to grant a proper compensation." Moreover, in December 1757, he obtained the king's order that every provincial officer of no higher rank than colonel should have equal command with the British, according to the date of their respective commissions.

In the midst of all his cares, Pitt sought new security for freedom in England. A bill was carried through the house of commons extending the provisions for awarding the writ of habeas corpus to all cases of commitment; and, when the law lords obtained its rejection by the peers, he was but the more confirmed in his maxim, that "the lawyers are not to be regarded in questions of liberty."

His genius and his respect for the rights of the colonies roused their utmost activity for the conquest of Canada and the West. The contributions of New England exceeded a just estimate of their ability. The thrifty people of Massachusetts disliked a funded debt, and avoided it by taxation. Their tax in one year of the war was, on personal estate, thirteen shillings and fourpence on the pound of income, and on two hundred pounds income from real estate was seventy-two pounds, besides various excises and a poll-tax of nineteen shillings on every male over sixteen. Once, in 1759, a colonial stamp-tax was imposed by their legislature. Connecticut bore as heavy burdens.

The Canadians, who had not enjoyed repose enough to cultivate their lands, were cut off from regular intercourse with France by the maritime superiority of England. "I shudder," said Montcalm, in February 1758, "when I think of provisions. The famine is very great." "For all our success," thus he appealed to the minister, "New France needs peace, or sooner or later it must fall, such are the numbers of the English, such the difficulty of our receiving supplies." The Canadian war-parties were on the alert; but what availed their small successes? In the general dearth, the soldiers could receive but a half pound of bread daily; the inhabitants of Quebec, but two ounces daily. The country was almost bare of vegetables, poultry, sheep, and cattle. In the want of bread

and beef and other necessaries, twelve or fifteen hundred horses were distributed for food. Artisans and day-laborers became too weak for labor.

On the recall of Loudoun, three several expeditions were set in motion. Jeffrey Amherst, with James Wolfe, was to join the fleet under Boscawen for the recapture of Louisburg; the conquest of the Ohio valley was intrusted to Forbes; and against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Abercrombie, a friend of Bute, was commander-in-chief, though Pitt selected the young Lord Howe to be the soul of the enterprise.

To high rank and great connections Lord Howe added a capacity to discern ability, judgment to employ it, and readiness to adapt himself to the hardships of forest warfare. Wolfe, then thirty-one years old, had been eighteen years in the army; was at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and won laurels at Laffeldt. Merit made him at two-and-twenty a lieutenant-colonel. He was at once authoritative and humane; severe, yet indefatigably kind; modest, but ambitious and conscious of ability. The brave soldier dutifully loved and obeyed his widowed mother; and he aspired to happiness in domestic life, even while he kindled at the prospect of glory as "gunpowder at fire."

On the twenty-eighth day of May 1758, Amherst, after a most unusually long passage, reached Halifax. The fleet had twenty-two ships of the line and fifteen frigates; the army, at least ten thousand effective men. Isaac Barré, who had lingered a subaltern eleven years till Wolfe rescued him from hopeless obscurity, served as a major of brigade.

For six days after the British forces, on their way from Halifax to Louisburg, had entered Chapeau Rouge bay, the surf, under a high wind, made the rugged shore inaccessible, and gave the French time to strengthen and extend their lines. The sea still dashed heavily when, before daybreak, on the eighth of June, the troops disembarked under cover of a random fire from the frigates. Wolfe, the third brigadier, who led the first division, would not allow a gun to be fired, cheered the rowers, and, on coming to shoal water, jumped into the sea; and, in spite of the surf which broke several boats and upset more, in spite of the well-directed fire of the French, in

spite of their breastwork and rampart of felled trees whose interwoven branches made a wall of green, the English reached the land, took the batteries, drove in the French, and on the same day invested Louisburg. At that landing, none was more gallant than Richard Montgomery, just one-and-twenty, Irish by birth, an officer in Wolfe's brigade. His commander honored him with well-deserved praise and promotion to a lieutenancy.

On the morning of the twelfth, an hour before dawn, Wolfe, with light infantry and Highlanders, took by surprise the light-house battery on the north-east side of the entrance to the harbor; the smaller works were successively carried. Science, sufficient force, union among the officers, heroism pervading mariners and soldiers, carried forward the siege, during which Barré by his conduct secured the approbation of Amherst and the friendship of Wolfe. Boscawen was prepared to send six English ships into the harbor. The town of Louisburg was already a heap of ruins; for eight days the French officers and men had had no safe place for rest; of their fifty-two cannon, forty were disabled. They had now but five ships of the line and four frigates. It was time for the Chevalier de Drucour to capitulate. On the twenty-seventh of July, the English took possession of Louisburg, and, as a consequence, of Cape Breton and Prince Edward's island. The garrison, with the sailors and marines, in all five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, were sent to England. Halifax being the English naval station, Louisburg was deserted. The harbor still offers shelter from storms; but only a few hovels mark the spot which so much treasure was lavished to fortify, so much effort to conquer. Wolfe, whose heart was in England, bore home the love and esteem of the army. The trophies were deposited in the cathedral of St. Paul's; the churches gave thanks; Boscawen, himself a member of parliament, was honored by a unanimous tribute from the house of commons. New England, too, triumphed; for the praises awarded to Amherst and Wolfe recalled the deeds of her own sons.

The season was too far advanced to attempt Quebec. Besides, a sudden message drew Amherst to Lake George.

The summons of Pitt had called into being a numerous and well-equipped provincial army. Massachusetts, which had upon its alarm list more than thirty-seven thousand men who were by law obliged in case of an invasion to take the field, had ten thousand of its citizens employed in the public service; but it kept its disbursements for the war under the control of its own commissioners. Pownall, its governor, complained of the reservation as an infringement of the prerogative, predicted confidently the nearness of American independence, and, after vain appeals to the local legislature, repeated his griefs to the lords of trade. The board answered: "Unless some effectual remedy be applied at a proper time, the dependence which the colony of Massachusetts bay ought to have upon the sovereignty of the crown will be in great danger of being totally lost." The letter was sent without the knowledge of Pitt, who never invited a province to the utmost employment of its resources, with the secret purpose of subverting its liberties as soon as victory over a foreign foe should have been achieved with its co-operation.

Meantime, nine thousand and twenty-four provincials from New England, New York, and New Jersey assembled on the shore of Lake George. There were the six hundred New England rangers, dressed like woodmen, armed with a firelock and a hatchet, under their right arm a powder-horn, a leather bag for bullets at their waist, and to each officer a pocket compass as a guide in the forests. There was Stark, of New Hampshire, already promoted to be a captain. There was the generous, open-hearted Israel Putnam, now a major, leaving his good farm round which his own hands had helped to build the walls. There were the chaplains, who preached to the regiments of citizen soldiers a renewal of the days when Moses with the rod of God in his hand sent Joshua against Amalek. By the side of the provincials rose the tents of the regular army, six thousand three hundred and sixty-seven in number. Abercrombie was commander-in-chief; but confidence rested solely on Lord Howe.

On the fifth day of July, the armament of more than fifteen thousand men, the largest body of European origin that had ever been assembled in America, struck their tents at daybreak,

and in nine hundred small boats and one hundred and thirty-five whale-boats, with artillery mounted on rafts, embarked on Lake George; and, in the evening light, halted at Sabbath-day Point. Long afterward, Stark remembered that on that night Lord Howe, reclining in his tent on a bear-skin, and bent on winning a hero's name, questioned him closely as to the position of Ticonderoga and the fittest mode of attacking it.

On the promontory, where the lake through an outlet less than four miles long, falling in that distance about one hundred and fifty-seven feet, enters the Champlain, the French had placed Fort Carillon, having that lake on its east, and on the south and south-west the bay formed by the junction. On the north wet meadows obstructed access; so that the only approach by land was from the north-west. On that side, about a half mile in front of the fort, Montcalm marked out his lines, which began near the meadows and followed the sinuosities of the ground till they approached the outlet. This the road from Lake George to Ticonderoga crossed twice by bridges, between which the path was as a chord to the large arc made by the course of the water. Near the bridge at the lower falls, less than two miles from the fort, the French had built saw-mills, on ground which offered a strong military position. On the first of July, Montcalm sent three regiments to occupy the head of the portage, but soon recalled them. On the morning of the fifth, when a white flag on the mountains gave warning that the English were embarked, a guard of three pickets was stationed at the landing-place; and Trépézée, with three hundred men, was sent still farther forward, to watch the movements of the enemy.

An hour before midnight the English army was again in motion, and by nine the next morning disembarked on the west side of the lake, in a cove sheltered by a point which still keeps the name of Lord Howe. The three French pickets precipitately retired.

As the French had burnt the bridges, the army, forming in four columns, began its march round the bend along the west side of the outlet, over ground uneven and densely wooded. "If these people," said Montcalm, "do but give me time to gain the position I have chosen on the heights of Carillon, I

shall beat them." The columns, led by bewildered guides, broke and jostled each other; they had proceeded about two miles when the right centre, where Lord Howe had command, suddenly came upon the party of Trépézée, who had lost his way and for twelve hours had been wandering in the forest. The worn-out stragglers, less than three hundred in number, fought bravely. They were soon overwhelmed; but Lord Howe, foremost in the skirmish, was the first to fall, expiring immediately. The grief of his fellow-soldiers and the confusion that followed his death spoke his eulogy; Massachusetts raised his monument in Westminster Abbey.

The English passed the following night under arms in the forest. On the morning of the seventh, Abercrombie had no better plan than to draw back to the landing-place.

Early the next day, he sent Clark, the chief engineer, across the outlet to reconnoitre the French lines, which he reported to be of flimsy construction, strong in appearance only. Stark, of New Hampshire, as well as some English officers, with a keener eye and sounder judgment, saw well-finished preparations of defence; but the general, apprehending that Montcalm already commanded six thousand men, and that Levi was hastening to join him with three thousand more, gave orders, without waiting for cannon to be brought up, with gun in hand, to storm the breastworks that very day. For that end a triple line was formed, out of reach of cannon-shot; the first consisted, on the left, of the rangers; in the centre, of the boatmen; on the right, of the light infantry; the second, of provincials, with wide openings between their regiments; the third, of the regulars. Troops of Connecticut and New Jersey formed a rear-guard. During these arrangements, Sir William Johnson arrived with four hundred and forty warriors of the Six Nations, who gazed with inactive apathy on the white men that had come so far to shed each other's blood.

On the sixth of July, Montcalm called in all his parties, which amounted to no more than two thousand eight hundred French and four hundred and fifty Canadians. That day, he employed the second battalion of Berry in strengthening his post. The next day, his whole army toiled incredibly, the officers giving the example, and planting the flags on the breast

work. In the evening, Levi returned from an intended expedition against the Mohawks, bringing four hundred chosen men; and at night all bivouacked along the intrenchment. On the morning of the eighth, the drums of the French beat to arms, that the troops, now thirty-six hundred and fifty in number, might know their stations; and then, without pausing to return the fire of musketry from English light troops on the declivities of the mountain, they resumed their work. The right of their defences rested on a hillock, from which the plain between the lines and the lake was to have been flanked by four pieces of cannon, but the battery could not be finished; the left extended to a scarp surmounted by an abattis. For a hundred yards in front of the intermediate breastwork, which consisted of piles of logs, the approach was obstructed by felled trees with their branches pointing outward, stumps, and rubbish of all sorts.

The English army, obeying the orders of a commander who remained out of sight and far behind during the action, rushed forward with fixed bayonets to carry the lines, the regulars advancing through the openings between the provincial regiments, and taking the lead. Montcalm, who stood just within the trenches, threw off his coat for the sunny work of the July afternoon, and forbade a musket to be fired till he commanded; then, as the English drew very near in three principal columns to attack simultaneously the left, the centre, and the right, and became entangled among the rubbish and broken into disorder by clambering over logs and projecting limbs, at his word a sudden and incessant fire from swivels and small-arms mowed down brave officers and men. Their intrepidity made the carnage terrible. The attacks were continued all the afternoon, generally with the greatest vivacity. When the English endeavored to turn the left, Bourlamarque opposed them till he was dangerously wounded; and Montcalm, who watched every movement, sent re-enforcements at the moment of crisis. On the right, the grenadiers and Scottish Highlanders charged for three hours, without faltering and without confusion; many fell within fifteen steps of the trench; some, it was said, upon it. About five o'clock, the columns which had attacked the French centre and right concentrated them-

selves on a salient point between the two; but Levi flew from the right, and Montcalm himself brought up a reserve. At six, the two parties nearest the water turned desperately against the centre, and, being repulsed, made a last effort on the left. Thus were life and courage prodigally wasted, till the bewildered English fired on an advanced party of their own, producing hopeless dejection; and, after losing, in killed and wounded, nineteen hundred and sixty-seven, chiefly regulars, they fled promiscuously.

The British general, during the battle, cowered safely at the saw-mills; and, when his presence was needed to rally the fugitives, was nowhere to be found. The second in command gave no orders; while Montcalm, careful of every duty, distributed refreshments among his exhausted soldiers, cheered them by thanks to each regiment for their valor, and employed the coming night in strengthening his lines.

The English still exceeded the French fourfold. Their artillery was near, and could easily force a passage. The mountain over against Ticonderoga was in their possession. But Abercrombie, a victim to the "extremest fright and consternation," hurried the army that same evening to the boats, embarked the next morning, and did not rest till he had placed the lake between himself and Montcalm.

The news overwhelmed Pitt with sadness. Bute, who insisted that "Abercrombie and the troops had done their duty," comforted himself in "the numbers lost" as proof of "the greatest intrepidity," thinking it better to have cause for "tears" than "blushes;" and reserved his sympathy for the "broken-hearted commander." Prince George expressed his hope, one day, by "superior help," to "restore the love of virtue and religion."

While Abercrombie wearied his army with lining out a useless fort, the partisans of Montcalm were present everywhere. Just after the retreat of the English, they fell upon a regiment at the Half-way Brook between Fort Edward and Lake George. A fortnight later, they seized a convoy of wagoners at the same place. To intercept the French on their return, some hundred rangers scoured the forests near Wood-

creek, marching in Indian file, Putnam in the rear, in front the commander Rogers, who, with a British officer, beguiled the way by firing at marks. The noise attracted hostile Indians to an ambuscade. A skirmish ensued, and Putnam, with twelve or fourteen more, was separated from the party. His comrades were scalped: in after-life, he used to relate how one of the savages gashed his cheek with a tomahawk, bound him to a forest-tree, and kindled about him a crackling fire; how his thoughts glanced aside to the wife of his youth and his children; when the brave French officer, Marin, happening to descry his danger, rescued him from death, to be exchanged in the autumn.

Better success awaited Bradstreet. From the majority in a council of war, he extorted a reluctant leave to proceed against Fort Frontenac. At the Oneida carrying-place, Brigadier Stanwix placed under his command twenty-seven hundred men, all Americans, nearly seven hundred from Massachusetts, and more than eleven hundred New Yorkers, among whom were the brothers James and George Clinton. There, too, were assembled one hundred and fifty warriors of the Six Nations; among them, Red Head, the renowned war-chief of Onondaga. Inspired by his eloquence in council, two-and-forty of them took Bradstreet for their friend, and grasped the hatchet as his companions. At Oswego, toward which they moved with celerity, there remained scarce a vestige of the English fort; of the French there was no memorial but "a large wooden cross." As the Americans gazed with extreme pleasure on the scene around them, they were told that farther west, in "Genesee and Canasadaga, there were lands as fertile, rich, and luxuriant as any in the universe." Crossing Lake Ontario in open boats, they landed, on the twenty-fifth of August, within a mile of Fort Frontenac. It was a quadrangle, mounted with thirty pieces of cannon and sixteen small mortars. On the second day, such of the garrison as had not fled surrendered. Here were the military stores for Fort Duquesne and the interior dependencies, with nine armed vessels, each carrying from eight to eighteen guns; of these, two were sent to Oswego. After razing the fortress, and destroying such vessels and stores as could not be brought off, the Americans returned to Lake George.

There the main army was wasting the season in supine inactivity. The news of the disastrous day at Ticonderoga induced Amherst, without orders, to conduct four regiments and a battalion from Louisburg. They landed in September at Boston, and at once entered on the march through the greenwood. In one of the regiments was Lieutenant Richard Montgomery, who remained near the northern lakes till 1760. When near Albany, Amherst hastened in advance, and on the fifth of October came upon the English camp. Early in November, despatches arrived, appointing him commander-in-chief. Returning to England, Abercrombie was screened from censure, maligned the Americans, and afterward assisted in parliament to tax the witnesses of his pusillanimity.

Canada was exhausted. "Peace! peace!" was the cry; "no matter with what boundaries." "I have not lost courage," wrote Montcalm, "nor have my troops; we are resolved to find our graves under the ruins of the colony."

Pitt, who had carefully studied the geography of North America, knew that the success of Bradstreet had gained the dominion of Lake Ontario and opened the avenue to Niagara; and he turned his mind from the defeat at Ticonderoga, to see if the banner of England was already waving over Fort Duquesne. For the conquest of the Ohio valley he relied mainly on the central provinces. The assembly of Maryland had insisted on an equitable assessment of taxes on all property, not omitting the estates of the proprietaries: this Loudoun reported "as a most violent attack on his majesty's prerogative." "I am persuaded," urged Sharpe on his official correspondent in England, "if the parliament of Great Britain was to compel us by an act to raise thirty thousand pounds a year, the upper class of people among us, and, indeed, all but a very few, would be well satisfied;" and he sent "a sketch of an act" for "a poll-tax on the taxable inhabitants." But that form of raising a revenue throughout America, being specially unpalatable to English owners of slaves in the West Indies, was disapproved "by all" in England. While the officers of Lord Baltimore were thus concerting with the board of trade a tax by parliament, Pitt, though entreated to interpose, regarded the bickerings between the proprietary and the people with calm impar

tiality, blaming both parties for the disputes which withheld Maryland from contributing her full share to the conquest of Fort Duquesne.

After long delays, Joseph Forbes, who had the command as brigadier, saw twelve hundred and fifty Highlanders arrive from South Carolina. They were joined by three hundred and fifty royal Americans. Pennsylvania, animated by an unusual military spirit—which seized even Benjamin West, known afterward as a painter, and Anthony Wayne, then a boy of thirteen—raised for the expedition twenty-seven hundred men. Their senior officer was John Armstrong. With Washington as their leader, Virginia sent two regiments of about nineteen hundred, whom their beloved commander praised as "really fine corps." Yet, vast as were the preparations, Forbes would never, but for Washington, have seen the Ohio.

The Virginia chief, who at first was stationed at Fort Cumberland, clothed a part of his force in the hunting-shirt and Indian blanket, which least impeded the progress of the soldier through the forest; and he entreated that the army might advance promptly along Braddock's road. But the expedition was not merely a military enterprise: it was also the march of civilization toward the West, and was made memorable by the construction of a better avenue to the Ohio. This required long-continued labor. September had come before Forbes, whose life was slowly ebbing, was borne in a litter as far as Raystown. But he preserved a clear head and a firm will, or, as he himself expressed it, was "actuated by the spirits" of William Pitt; and he decided to keep up the direct connection with Philadelphia, as essential to present success and future security.

While Washington, with most of the Virginians, joined the main army, Bouquet was sent forward, with two thousand men, to Loyal Hanna. There he received intelligence that the French post was defended by but eight hundred men, of whom three hundred were Indians. Bouquet, without the knowledge of his superior officer, intrusted to Major Grant, of Montgomery's battalion, a party of eight hundred, chiefly Highlanders and Virginians, of Washington's command, with orders to reconnoitre the enemy's position. The men easily

scaled the successive ridges, and took post on a hill near Fort Duquesne. Not knowing that Aubry had arrived with a reenforcement of four hundred men from Illinois, Grant divided his troops, in order to tempt the enemy into an ambuscade; and, at daybreak of the fourteenth of September, discovered himself by beating his drums. A large body of French and Indians, commanded by the gallant Aubry, immediately poured out of the fort, and with surprising celerity attacked his troops in detail, never allowing him time to get them together. They gave way and ran, leaving two hundred and ninety-five killed or prisoners. Even Grant, who in the folly of his vanity had but a few moments before been confident of an easy victory, gave himself up as a captive; but a small party of Virginians, under the command of Thomas Bullitt, arrested the precipitate flight, and saved the detachment from utter ruin. On their return to the camp, their coolness and courage were publicly extolled by Forbes; and, in the opinion of the whole army, regulars as well as provincials, their superiority of discipline reflected honor on Washington.

Not till the fifth of November did Forbes himself reach Loyal Hanna; and there a council of war determined for that season to advance no farther. But, on the twelfth, Washington gained from three prisoners exact information of the weakness of the French garrison on the Ohio, and it was resolved to proceed. Two thousand five hundred men were picked for the service. For the sake of speed, they left behind every convenience except a blanket and a knapsack, and of the artillery took only a light train.

Washington, who, pleading a "long intimacy with these woods" and familiarity "with all the passes and difficulties," had solicited the responsibility of leading the party, was appointed to command the advance brigade. His troops were provincials. Forbes, now sinking into the grave, had consumed fifty days in marching as many miles from Bedford to Loyal Hanna. Fifty miles of the wilderness still remained to be opened in the late season, through a soil of deep clay, or over rocky hills white with snow, by troops poorly fed and poorly clad; but Washington infused his own spirit into the men whom he commanded, and who thought light of hard-

ships and dangers while "under the particular directions" of "the man they knew and loved." Every encampment was so planned as to hasten the issue. On the thirteenth, the veteran Armstrong, who had proved his skill in moving troops rapidly and secretly through the wilderness, pushed forward with one thousand men, and in five days threw up defences within seventeen miles of Fort Duquesne. On the fifteenth, Washington, who followed, was on Chestnut Ridge; on the seventeenth, at Bushy Run. "All," he reported, "are in fine spirits and anxious to go on." On the nineteenth, Washington left Armstrong to wait for the Highlanders, and, taking the lead, dispelled by his vigilance every "apprehension of the enemy's approach." When, on the twenty-fourth, the general encamped his whole party among the hills of Turkey creek, within ten miles of Fort Duquesne, the disheartened garrison, then about five hundred in number, set fire to the fort in the night-time, and by the light of its flames went down the Ohio. On Saturday, the twenty-fifth of November, the little army moved on in one body; and at evening the youthful hero could point out to Armstrong and the hardy provincials, who marched in front, to the Highlanders and royal Americans, to Forbes himself, the meeting of the rivers. Armstrong's own hand raised the British flag over the ruined bastions of the fortress. As the banners of England floated over the waters, the place, at the suggestion of Forbes, was with one voice called Pittsburg. It is the most enduring monument to William Pitt. America raised to his name statues that have been wrongfully broken, and granite piles of which not one stone remains upon another; but, long as the Monongahela and the Alleghany shall flow to form the Ohio, long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom in the boundless valley which their waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed on the gateway of the West.

The twenty-sixth was observed as a day of public thanksgiving for success; and when was success of greater importance? The connection between the sea-side and the world beyond the mountains was established forever; a vast territory was secured; the civilization of liberty and commerce and religion was henceforth "to maintain the undisputed possession

of the Ohio." "These dreary deserts," wrote Forbes, "will soon be the richest and most fertile of any possessed by the British in North America."

On the twenty-eighth, a numerous detachment went to Braddock's field, where their slaughtered comrades, after more than three years, lay yet unburied in the forest. Here and there a skeleton was found resting on the trunk of a fallen tree, as if a wounded man had sunk down in the attempt to fly. In some places, wolves and crows had left signs of their ravages; in others, the blackness of ashes marked the scene of the revelry of cannibals. The trees still showed branches rent by cannon, trunks dotted with musket-balls. Where the havoc had been the fiercest, bones lay whitening in confusion. None could be recognised, except that the son of Sir Peter Halket was called by the shrill whistle of a savage to the great tree near which his father and his brother had been seen to fall together; and, while Benjamin West and a company of Pennsylvanians formed a circle around, the Indians removed the leaves till they bared the relics of the youth, lying across those of the elder officer. The remains of the two, thus united in death, were wrapped in a Highland plaid, and consigned to one grave, with the ceremonies that belong to the burial of the brave. The bones of the undistinguishable multitude, more than four hundred and fifty in number, were indiscriminately cast into the ground, no one knowing for whom specially to weep. The chilling gloom of the forest at the coming of winter, the religious awe that mastered the savages, the groups of soldiers sorrowing over the ghastly ruins of an army, formed a sombre scene of desolation. How is all changed! The banks of the broad and placid Monongahela smile with gardens, orchards, and teeming harvests; with workshops and villas; the victories of peace have effaced the memorials of war; railroads send their cars over the Alleghanies in fewer hours than the army had taken weeks for its unresisted march; and in all that region no sounds now prevail but of life and activity.

Two regiments, composed of Pennsylvanians, Marylanders, and Virginians, remained as a garrison, under the command of Mercer; and for Washington, who at twenty-six retired from the army, after having done so much to advance the limits of

his country, the next few weeks were filled with happiness and honor. The people of Fredericktown had chosen him their representative. On the last day of the year, "the affectionate officers" who had been under him expressed, with "sincerity and openness of soul," their grief at "the loss of such an excellent commander, such a sincere friend, and so affable a companion," "a man so experienced in military affairs, one so renowned for patriotism, conduct, and courage." They publicly acknowledged to have found in him a leader who had "a quick discernment and invariable regard for merit, an earnestness to inculcate genuine sentiments of true honor and passion for glory;" whose "example inspired alacrity and cheerfulness in encountering severest toils;" whose zeal for "strict discipline and order gave to his troops a superiority which even the regulars and provincials publicly acknowledged." On the sixth of the following January, the woman of his choice was bound with him in wedlock. The first month of union was hardly over when, in the house of burgesses, the speaker, obeying the resolve of the house, publicly gave him the thanks of Virginia for his services to his country; and as the young man, taken by surprise, hesitated for words in his attempt to reply, "Sit down," interposed the speaker; "your modesty is equal to your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess." After these crowded weeks, Washington, no more a soldier, retired to Mount Vernon, with the experience of five years of assiduous service. Yet not the quiet of rural life by the side of the Potomac, not the sweets of conjugal love, could turn his fixed mind from the love of glory; and he revealed his passion by adorning his rooms with busts of Eugene and Marlborough, of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Charles XII.; and of one only among living men, the king of Prussia, whose struggles he watched with painful sympathy. Washington had ever before his eyes the image of Frederic. Both were eminently founders of nations, childless heroes, fathers only to their countries: the one beat down the dominion of the aristocracy of the middle ages by a military monarchy; the Providence which rules the world had elected the other to guide the fiery coursers of revolution along nobler paths, and to check them firmly at the goal.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CONQUEST OF CANADA. PITT'S MINISTRY CONTINUED.

1759.

The first object of Pitt on obtaining real power was the acquisition of the boundless dominions of France in America. With astonishing unanimity, parliament voted for the year twelve millions sterling, and such forces, by sea and land, as till those days had been unimagined in England.

In the arrangements for the campaign, the secretary disregarded seniority of rank. Stanwix was to complete the occupation of the posts at the West, from Pittsburg to Lake Erie; Prideaux to reduce Fort Niagara; and Amherst, now commander-in-chief and the sinecure governor of Virginia, to advance with the main army to Lake Champlain. For the conquest of Quebec, Pitt confided the fleet to Saunders, an officer who to unaffected modesty and steady courage joined the love of civil freedom. For the command of the army in the river St. Lawrence Wolfe was selected. "I feel called upon," he had written, on occasion of his early promotion, "to justify the notice taken of me by such exertions and exposure of myself as will probably lead to my fall." And the day before departing for his command, in the inspiring presence of Pitt, he forgot danger, glory, everything but the overmastering purpose to consecrate himself to his country.

All the while, ships from every part of the world were bringing messages of the success of British arms. In the preceding April, a small English squadron made a conquest of Senegal; in December, negroes crowded on the heights of the island of Goree to witness the surrender of its forts to Commodore Augustus Keppel. In the Indian seas, Pococke main-

tained the superiority of England. In the West Indies, in January 1759, a fleet of ten line-of-battle ships, with six thousand effective troops, made a fruitless attack on Martinique; but in May it gained, by capitulation, the well-watered island of Guadaloupe, whose harbor can screen whole navies from hurricanes, and by its position commands the neighboring seas.

From the continent of Europe came the assurance that a victory at Minden had protected Hanover. The French, having repulsed Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick at Frankfort, pursued their advantage, occupied Cassel, compelled Munster to capitulate, and took Minden by assault; so that Hanover could be saved only by a victory. Contades and Broglie, the French generals, with their superior force, were allured from their strong position, and accepted battle on narrow and inconvenient ground, on which their horse occupied the centre, their foot the wings. The French cavalry charged, but, swept by artillery and the rolling fire of the English and Hanoverian infantry, they were repulsed. At this moment, Ferdinand, who had detached the hereditary prince of Brunswick with ten thousand men to cut off the retreat, sent a message to the commander of the British cavalry, Lord George Sackville, by a German aide-de-camp, whom Lord George affected not to understand. Ligonier came next, with express directions that he bring up the cavalry and attack the French, who were faltering. "See the confusion he is in!" cried Sloper to Ligonier; "for God's sake repeat your orders!" Fitzroy arrived with a third order from Ferdinand. "This cannot be so," said Lord George; "would he have me break the line?" Fitzroy urged the command. "Do not be in a hurry," said Lord George. "I am out of breath with galloping," replied young Fitzroy, "which makes me speak quick; but my orders are positive; the French are in confusion; here is a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves." "It is impossible," repeated Lord George, "that the prince could mean to break the line." "I give you his orders," rejoined Fitzroy, "word for word." "Who will be the guide to the cavalry?" asked Lord George. "I," said the brave boy, and led the way. Lord George, pretending to be puzzled, was reminded by Smith, one of his aids, of the necessity of immediate obedi-

ence; on which he sent Smith to lead on the British cavalry, while he himself rode to the prince for explanation. Ferdinand, in scorn, renewed his orders to the marquis of Granby, the second in command, and was obeyed with alacrity; but the decisive moment was lost. "Lord George's fall was prodigious; nobody stood higher; nobody had more ambition." George II. dismissed him from all his posts. A court-martial the next year found him guilty of disobeying orders, and unfit for employment in any military capacity; on which the king struck his name out of the council-book and forbade his appearance at court.

In America, every colony north of Maryland seconded William Pitt. In New York and New England there was not one village but grew familiar with war from the experience of its own inhabitants. Massachusetts sent into the service more than seven thousand men, or nearly one sixth part of all who were able to bear arms. Connecticut raised, as in the previous year, five thousand men; incurred debts, and appointed heavy taxes to discharge them. New Jersey, which had lost one thousand men, yet voted to raise one thousand more; and expended yearly for the war an amount equal to about five dollars for each inhabitant. Such was the free service of loyal colonies under an administration which respected their liberty.

To encounter the preparations of England and America, Canada received scanty supplies of provisions from France. "The king," wrote the minister of war to Montcalm, "relies on your zeal and obstinacy of courage;" but Montcalm informed Belle-Isle that, without unexpected good fortune, or great fault in the enemy, Canada must be taken this campaign, or certainly the next. Its census showed but a population of about eighty-two thousand, of whom not more than seven thousand men could serve as soldiers; the eight French battalions counted but thirty-two hundred, while the English were thought to have almost fifty thousand men in arms. There was a dearth in the land; the fields were hardly cultivated; domestic animals were failing; the soldiers were unpaid; paper money had increased to thirty millions of livres, and would that year be increased twelve millions more; while the civil officers were making haste to enrich themselves before the surrender, which was to screen their frauds.

The western brigade, under Prideaux, composed of two battalions from New York, a battalion of royal Americans, and two British regiments, with a detachment of royal artillery, and Indian auxiliaries under Sir William Johnson, was the first to engage actively. Fort Niagara stood, as its ruins yet stand, on the flat and narrow promontory round which the deep and rapid Niagara sweeps into the lower lake. There La Salle, first of Europeans, had raised a light palisade. There Denonville had constructed a fortress and left a garrison for a winter. It commanded the portage between Ontario and Erie, and gave the dominion of the western fur trade. Leaving a detachment with Colonel Haldimand to build a tenable post at the mouth of the Oswego, the united American, British, and Indian forces embarked, on the first day of July, on Lake Ontario, and landed without opposition at one of its inlets, six miles east of the junction of the Niagara. The fortress on the peninsula was easily invested.

Aware of the importance of the station, D'Aubry collected from Detroit and Erie, Le Bœuf and Venango, an army of twelve hundred men, and marched to the rescue. Prideaux made the best dispositions to frustrate the design; but, on the fifteenth of July, he was killed by the bursting of a cohorn. Sir William Johnson, who succeeded him, commemorated his abilities, and executed his plans. On the morning of the twenty-fourth of July, the French made their appearance. The Mohawks gave a sign for a parley with the French Indians; but, as it was not returned, they raised the war-whoop. While the regulars advanced to meet the French in front, the English Indians gained their flanks and threw them into disorder, on which the English rushed to the charge with irresistible fury. The French broke, retreated, and were pursued, suffering great loss. On the next day, the garrison, of about six hundred men, capitulated. New York extended its limits to the Niagara river and Lake Erie. The officer and troops sent by Stanwix from Pittsburg took possession of the French posts as far as Erie without resistance.

The success of the English on Lake Ontario drew Levi, the second in military command in New France, from before Quebec. He ascended beyond the rapids, and endeavored to guard

against a descent to Montreal by occupying the passes of the river near Ogdensburg. The men at his disposal were too few to accomplish the object; and Amherst directed Gage, whom he detached as successor to Prideaux, to take possession of the post. But Gage made excuses for neglecting the order, and whiled away his harvest-time of honor.

Meantime, the commander-in-chief assembled the main army at Lake George. The temper of Amherst was never ruffled by collisions with the Americans; his displeasure was concealed under apparent apathy or impenetrable self-command. His judgment was slow and cautious; his mind solid, but never inventive. Taciturn and stoical, he displayed respectable abilities as a commander, without fertility of resources or daring enterprise. In five British regiments, with the royal Americans, he had fifty-seven hundred and forty-three regulars; of provincials and Gage's light infantry he had nearly as many more. On the longest day in June, he reached the lake, and the next day, with useless precaution, traced out the ground for a fort. On the twenty-first of July, the invincible flotilla moved in four columns down the water, with artillery and more than eleven thousand men. On the twenty-second, the army disembarked on the eastern shore, nearly opposite the landing-place of Abercrombie; and that night, after a skirmish of the advanced guard, they lay under arms at the saw-mills. Conscious of their inability to resist the British artillery and army, the French, on the next day, deserted their lines; on the twenty-sixth, abandoned Ticonderoga; and, five days afterward, retreated from Crown Point to Isle-aux-Noix.

The whole mass of the people of Canada had been called to arms; the noblesse piqued themselves on the military prowess of their ancestors, and their own great courage and loyalty. So general had been the levy that there were not men enough left to reap the fields round Montreal; and, to prevent starvation, women, old men, and children were ordered to gather in the harvest alike for rich and poor. The army that opposed Amherst had but one fourth of his numbers, and could not be recruited. An immediate descent on Montreal was universally expected. Amherst must advance, or Wolfe may perish. But, after repairing Ticonderoga, he wasted labor in building forti-

fications at Crown Point, which the conquest of Canada would render useless. Thus he let all August, all September, and ten days of October go by; and when at last he embarked, and victory, not without honor, might still have been within his grasp, he received messengers from Quebec, and turned back, having done nothing but occupy and repair deserted forts. Sending a detachment against the St. Francis Indians, he went into winter-quarters, leaving his unfinished work for another costly campaign. Amherst was a brave and faithful officer, but his intellect was dull. He gained a great position, because New France was acquired during his chief command; but, had Wolfe resembled him, Quebec would not have fallen.

As soon as the floating masses of ice permitted, the forces for the expedition against Quebec had repaired to Louisburg; and Wolfe, by his zeal, good judgment and the clearness of his orders, inspired unbounded confidence. His army consisted of eight regiments, two battalions of royal Americans, three companies of rangers, artillery, and a brigade of engineers—in all, about eight thousand men; the fleet under Saunders had two-and-twenty ships of the line, and as many frigates and armed vessels. On board of one of the ships was Jervis, afterward Earl Saint-Vincent; another bore as master James Cook the navigator, destined to reveal the paths and thousand isles of the Pacific. The brigades had for their commanders the brave, open-hearted, and liberal Robert Monckton, afterward governor of New York and conqueror of Martinique; George Townshend, elder brother of Charles Townshend, soon to succeed his father in the peerage and become known as a legislator for America, a man of quick perception, but unsafe judgment; and the rash and inconsiderate James Murray. For adjutant-general, Wolfe selected Isaac Barré, his old associate at Louisburg. The grenadiers of the army were formed into a corps, commanded by Colonel Guy Carleton; a detachment of light infantry was to receive orders from Lieutenant-Colonel, afterward Sir William, Howe.

On the twenty-sixth of June, the armament arrived, without accident, off the isle of Orleans, on which, the next day, they disembarked. The British fleet, with the numerous transports, lay at anchor on the left; the tents of the army stretched

across the island; the intrenched troops of France, having their centre at the village of Beauport, extended from the Montmorenci to the St. Charles; a little south of west, the seemingly impregnable cliff of Quebec completed one of the grandest scenes in nature. To protect this guardian citadel of New France, Montcalm had of regular troops no more than six wasted battalions; of Indian warriors few appeared, the wary savages preferring the security of neutrals; the Canadian militia gave him the superiority in numbers; but he put his chief confidence in the natural strength of the country. Above Quebec, the high promontory on which the upper town is built expands into an elevated plain, having toward the river the steepest acclivities. For nine miles or more above the city, as far as Cape Rouge, every landing-place was intrenched and protected. The river St. Charles, after meandering through a fertile valley, sweeps the rocky base of the town, which it covers by expanding into sedgy marshes. Nine miles below Quebec, the Montmorenci, after fretting itself a whirlpool route and dropping for miles down steps worn in its rocky bed, rushes to the ledge, over which, falling two hundred and fifty feet, it pours its fleecy cataract into the chasm.

At midnight, on the twenty-eighth, the short darkness was lighted up by a fleet of well-directed fire-ships, that came down with the tide; but the British sailors towed them free of the shipping.

The men-of-war assured to Wolfe the dominion of the water, and with it the superiority on the south shore of the St. Lawrence. In the night of the twenty-ninth, Monckton, with four battalions, having crossed the south channel, occupied Point Levi; and where the mighty current, which below the town expands as a bay, flows in a deep stream of but a mile in width, batteries of mortar and cannon were constructed. Early in July, the citizens of Quebec, foreseeing the ruin of their houses, volunteered to pass over the river and destroy the works; but, at the trial, their courage failed them. The English, by the discharge of red-hot balls and shells, demolished the lower town, and injured the upper; but the citadel was beyond their reach.

Wolfe was eager for battle, being willing to risk all his

hopes on the issue. He saw that the eastern bank of the Montmorenci was higher than the ground occupied by Montcalm, and, on the ninth, he crossed the north channel and encamped there; but the armies and their chiefs were still divided by the river precipitating itself down its rocky way in impassable eddies and rapids. Three miles in the interior, a ford was found; but the opposite bank was steep, woody, and well intrenched. Not an approach on the line of the Montmorenci, for miles into the interior, was left unprotected.

The general proceeded to reconnoitre the shore above the town. In concert with Saunders, on the eighteenth he sailed along the well-fortified bank from Montmorenci to the St. Charles; he passed the deep and spacious harbor, which, at four hundred miles from the sea, can shelter a hundred ships of the line; he neared the high cliff of Cape Diamond, towering like a bastion over the waters and surmounted by the banner of the Bourbons; he coasted along the craggy wall of rock that extends beyond the citadel; he marked the outline of the precipitous hill that forms the north bank of the river: and everywhere he beheld a natural fastness, vigilantly defended; intrenchments, cannon, boats, and floating batteries guarding every access.

Meantime, at midnight on the twenty-eighth, the French sent down a raft of fire-stages, consisting of nearly a hundred pieces; but these, like the fire-ships a month before, did but light up the river, without injuring the British fleet. Scarcely a day passed but there were skirmishes of the English with the Indians and Canadians, who trod stealthily in the footsteps of every exploring party.

Wolfe returned to Montmorenci. July was almost gone and he had made no effective advances. He resolved on an engagement. The Montmorenci, after falling over a perpendicular rock, flows for three hundred yards, amid clouds of spray and rainbows, in a gentle stream to the St. Lawrence. Near the junction, the river may, for a few hours of the tide, be passed on foot. It was planned that two brigades should ford the Montmorenci at the proper time of the tide, while Monckton's regiments should cross the St. Lawrence in boats from Point Levi. The signal was made, but some of the

boats grounded on a ledge of rocks that runs out into the river. While the seamen were getting them off, and the enemy were firing a vast number of shot and shells, Wolfe, with some of the navy officers as companions, selected a landing-place; and his desperate courage thought it not yet too late to begin the attack. Thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred of the second battalion of the royal Americans, who got first on shore, not waiting for support, ran hastily toward the intrenchments, and were repulsed in such disorder that they could not again come into line, though Monckton's regiments arrived and formed with self-possession. But hours hurried by; night was near; the clouds gathered heavily, as if for a storm; the tide was rising; Wolfe ordered a timely retreat. A strand of deep mud; a hillside, steep, and in many places impracticable; the heavy fire of a brave, numerous, and well-protected enemy —were obstacles which intrepidity and discipline could not overcome. In general orders, Wolfe censured the impetuosity of the grenadiers; he praised the coolness of Monckton's regiments, as able alone to beat back the whole Canadian army.

This severe check, in which four hundred lives were lost, happened on the last day of July. Murray was next sent, with twelve hundred men, above the town to destroy the French ships and open a communication with Amherst. Twice he attempted a landing on the north shore, without success; at Deschambault, a place of refuge for women and children, he learned that Niagara had surrendered, that the French had abandoned Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The eyes of Wolfe were strained to see Amherst approach. Vain hope! The commander-in-chief, though opposed by no more than three thousand men, was loitering at Crown Point; nor did even a messenger from him arrive. Wolfe was to struggle alone with difficulties which every hour made more appalling. The numerous body of armed men under Montcalm "could not," he said, "be called an army," but the French had the strongest country, perhaps, in the world on which to rest the defence of the town. Their boats were numerous, and weak points were guarded by floating batteries; the keen eye of the Indian prevented surprise; the vigilance and hardihood of the Canadians made intrenchments everywhere necessary. The peasantry

were zealous to defend their homes, language, and religion; old men of seventy and boys of fifteen fired at the English detachments from the edges of the wood; every one able to bear arms was in the field. Little quarter was given on either side. Thus for two months the British fleet rode idly at anchor; the army lay in their tents. The feeble frame of Wolfe sunk under the restlessness of anxious inactivity.

While disabled by fever, he laid before the brigadiers three several and equally desperate methods of attacking Montcalm in his intrenchments at Beauport. Meeting at Monckton's quarters, they wisely and unanimously gave their opinions against them all, and advised to convey four or five thousand men above the town, and thus draw Montcalm from his impregnable situation to an open action. Attended by the admiral, Wolfe examined once more the citadel, with a view to a general assault. Although every one of the five passages from the lower to the upper town was carefully intrenched, Saunders was willing to join in any hazard for the public service; "but I could not propose to him," said Wolfe, "an undertaking of so dangerous a nature and promising so little success." He had the whole force of Canada to oppose, and, by the nature of the river, the fleet could take no part in an engagement. "In this situation," wrote Wolfe to Pitt, on the second of September, "there is such a choice of difficulties that I am myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain require most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope." England read the despatch with dismay, and feared to hear further tidings.

Wolfe acquiesced in the proposal of the brigadiers. Securing the posts on the isle of Orleans and opposite Quebec, he marched with the army, on the fifth and sixth of September, from Point Levi, to which place he had transferred all the troops from Montmorenci, and embarked them in transports that had passed the town for the purpose. On the three following days, Admiral Holmes, with the ships, ascended the river to amuse De Bougainville, who had been sent up the north shore to watch the movements of the British army and prevent a landing. New France began to believe the worst dangers of

the campaign over. Levi, the second officer in command, was sent to protect Montreal, with a detachment, it was said, of three thousand men. Summer was over, and the British fleet must soon withdraw from the river. "My constitution," wrote the general to Holdernesse, just four days before his death, "is entirely ruined, without the consolation of having done any considerable service to the state, and without any prospect of it."

But, in the mean time, Wolfe applied himself intently to reconnoitring the north shore above Quebec. Nature had given him good eyes, as well as a warmth of temper to follow first impressions. He himself discovered the cove which now bears his name, where the bending promontories almost form a basin, with a very narrow margin, over which the hill rises precipitously. He saw the path that wound up the steep, though so narrow that two men could hardly march in it abreast; and he knew, by the number of tents which he counted on the summit, that the Canadian post which guarded it could not exceed a hundred. Here he resolved to land his army by a surprise. To mislead the enemy, his troops were kept far above the town; while Saunders, as if an attack was intended at Beauport, set Cook, the great mariner, with others, to sound the water and plant buoys along that shore.

The day and night of the twelfth were employed in preparations. The autumn evening was bright; and the general, under the clear starlight, visited his stations, to make his final inspection and utter his last words of encouragement. As he passed from ship to ship, he spoke to those in the boat with him of the poet Gray, and his "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," saying, "I would prefer being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow;" and, while the oars struck the river as it rippled under the flowing tide, he repeated:

> The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
> Await alike the inevitable hour.
> The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

Every officer knew his appointed duty, when, at one o'clock in the morning of the thirteenth of September, Wolfe, Monckton, and Murray, and about half the forces, set off in boats,

and, using neither sail nor oars, glided down with the tide. In three quarters of an hour the ships followed; and, though the night had become dark, aided by the rapid current, they reached the cove just in time to cover the landing. Wolfe and the troops with him leaped on shore; the light infantry, who found themselves borne by the current a little below the intrenched path, clambered up the steep hill, staying themselves by the roots and boughs of the maple and spruce and ash trees that covered the precipitous declivity, and, after a little firing, dispersed the picket which guarded the height; the rest ascended safely by the pathway. A battery of four guns on the left was abandoned to Colonel Howe. When Townshend's division disembarked, the English had already gained one of the roads to Quebec; and, advancing in front of the forest, Wolfe stood at daybreak with his battalions on the Plains of Abraham, the battle-field of the Celtic and Saxon races for half a continent.

"It can be but a small party, come to burn a few houses and retire," said Montcalm, in amazement, as the news reached him in his intrenchments the other side of the St. Charles; but, obtaining better information, "Then," he cried, "they have at last got to the weak side of this miserable garrison; we must give battle and crush them before mid-day." And, before ten, the two armies, equal in numbers, each being composed of less than five thousand men, were ranged in presence of one another for battle. The English, not easily accessible from intervening shallow ravines and rail-fences, were all regulars, perfect in discipline, terrible in their fearless enthusiasm, thrilling with pride at their morning's success, commanded by a man whom they obeyed with confidence and love. Montcalm had what Wolfe had called but "five weak French battalions," of less than two thousand men, "mingled with disorderly peasantry," formed on commanding ground. The French had three little pieces of artillery; the English, one or two. The two armies cannonaded each other for nearly an hour; when Montcalm, having summoned Bougainville to his aid, and despatched messenger after messenger for Vaudreuil, who had fifteen hundred men at the camp, to come up before he should be driven from the ground, endeavored to flank the British and crowd them down the high bank of the river. Wolfe counter-

acted the movement by detaching Townshend with Amherst's regiment, and afterward a part of the royal Americans, who formed on the left with a double front.

Waiting no longer for more troops, Montcalm led the French army impetuously to the attack. The ill-disciplined companies broke by their precipitation and the unevenness of the ground, and fired by platoons, without unity. Their adversaries, especially the forty-third and the forty-seventh, of which Monckton stood at the head and three men out of four were Americans, received the shock with calmness; and after having, at Wolfe's command, reserved their fire till their enemy was within forty yards, their line began a regular, rapid, and exact discharge of musketry. Montcalm was present everywhere, braving danger, wounded, but cheering by his example. Sennezergues, the second in command, his associate in glory at Ticonderoga, was killed. The brave but untried Canadians, flinching from a hot fire in the open field, began to waver; and, so soon as Wolfe, placing himself at the head of the twenty-eighth and the Louisburg grenadiers, charged with bayonets, they everywhere gave way. Of the English officers, Carleton was wounded; Barré, who fought near Wolfe, received in the head a ball which made him blind of one eye, and ultimately of both. Wolfe, as he led the charge, was wounded in the wrist; but, still pressing forward, he received a second ball; and, having decided the day, was struck a third time, and mortally, in the breast. "Support me," he cried to an officer near him; "let not my brave fellows see me drop." He was carried to the rear, and they brought him water to quench his thirst. "They run! they run!" spoke the officer on whom he leaned. "Who run?" asked Wolfe, as his life was fast ebbing. "The French," replied the officer, "give way everywhere." "Go, one of you, to Colonel Burton," cried the expiring hero; "bid him march Webb's regiment with all speed to Charles river to cut off the fugitives from the bridge." * Four days before, he had looked forward to early death with dismay. "Now, God be praised, I die in peace:" these were his words as his spirit escaped in the moment of his glory. Night, silence, the rushing tide, veteran

* Historical Journal of John Knox, ii. 79.

discipline, the sure inspiration of genius, had been his allies; his battle-field, high over the ocean river, was the grandest theatre for illustrious deeds; his victory, one of the most momentous in the annals of mankind, gave to the English tongue and the institutions of the Germanic race the unexplored and seemingly infinite West and North. He crowded into a few hours actions that would have given lustre to length of life, and, filling his day with greatness, completed it before its noon.

Monckton, the first brigadier, after greatly distinguishing himself, was shot through the lungs. Townshend, the next in command, recalled the troops from the pursuit; and, when Bougainville appeared in view, declined a contest with a fresh enemy. But already the hope of New France was gone. Born and educated in camps, Montcalm had been carefully instructed, so that he was skilled in the language of Homer as well as in the art of war. Laborious, just, disinterested, hopeful even to rashness, sagacious in council, swift in action, his mind was a well-spring of bold designs; his career in Canada, a wonderful struggle against inexorable destiny. Sustaining hunger and cold, vigils and incessant toil, anxious for his soldiers, unmindful of himself, he set, even to the forest-trained red men, an example of self-denial and endurance; and, in the midst of corruption, made the public good his aim. Struck by a musket-ball, as he fought opposite Monckton, he continued in the engagement till, in attempting to rally a body of fugitive Canadians in a copse near St. John's gate, he was mortally wounded.

On hearing from the surgeon that death was certain, "I am glad of it," he cried; "how long shall I survive?" "Ten or twelve hours, perhaps less." "So much the better; I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." To the council of war he showed that in twelve hours all the troops near at hand might be concentrated and renew the attack before the English were intrenched. When Ramsay, who commanded the garrison, asked his advice about defending the city, "To your keeping," he replied, "I commend the honor of France. As for me, I shall pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death." Having written a letter recommending the French prisoners to the generosity of the English, his last hours were

given to the offices of his religion, and at five the next morning he expired.

The day of the battle had not passed when Vaudreuil, who had no capacity for war, wrote to Ramsay at Quebec not to wait for an assault, but, as soon as his provisions were exhausted, to raise the white flag of surrender. "We have cheerfully sacrificed our fortunes and our houses," said the citizens, "but we cannot expose our wives and children to a massacre." At a council of war, Fiedmont, a captain of artillery, was the only one who wished to hold out to the last extremity; and on the seventeenth of September, before the English had constructed batteries, Ramsay capitulated.

America rung with joy; the towns were bright with illuminations, the hills with bonfires; legislatures, the pulpit, the press, echoed the general gladness; provinces and families gave thanks to God. England, too, which had shared the despondency of Wolfe, triumphed at his victory and wept for his death. Joy, grief, curiosity, amazement, were on every countenance. When the parliament assembled, Pitt modestly put aside the praises that were showered on him. "The more a man is versed in business," said he, "the more he finds the hand of Providence everywhere." "I will own I have a zeal to serve my country beyond what the weakness of my frail body admits of;" and he foretold new successes at sea. November fulfilled his predictions. In that month, Sir Edward Hawke attacked the fleet of Constans off the northern coast of France; and, though it retired to the shelter of shoals and rocks, he gained the battle during a storm at night-fall.

CHAPTER XV.

INVASION OF THE VALLEY OF THE TENNESSEE. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED.

1759–1760.

The capitulation of Quebec was received by Townshend as though the achievement had been his own; and his official report of the battle left out the name of Wolfe, whom he indirectly censured. Hurrying away from the citadel, which he believed untenable, he returned home, like Abercrombie, Loudoun, Amherst, Gage, and so many more of his profession, to support taxation of the colonies by the metropolis as a necessary duty.

In Georgia, Ellis, the able governor, who had great influence in the public offices, was studying how the colonies could be administered by the central authority. Of South Carolina, Lyttelton broke the repose by a contest "to regain the powers of government which his predecessors," as he said, "had unfaithfully given away;" and he awakened a war with the Cherokees by bringing the maxims of civilized society into conflict with their unwritten code.

The Cherokees had heretofore been in friendship with the English, as Virginia acknowledged, in 1755, by a deputation to them and a present. In 1757, their warriors volunteered to protect the frontier south of the Potomac; yet, after they had won trophies in the general service, they would have been left to return without reward, or even supplies of food, but for the generosity of Washington and his officers.

The parties which in the following year joined the expedition to the Ohio were neglected, so that their hearts told them to return to their highlands. In July 1758, the back-

woodsmen of Virginia, finding that their half-starved allies on their way home took what they needed, seized arms, and, in three skirmishes, several of the "beloved men" of the Cherokees were slain and scalped.

The wailing of the women, at the dawn of each day and at the gray of the evening, for their deceased relatives, provoked the nation to retaliate; and the chiefs of the Cherokees sent out their young men to take only just and equal revenge. This and no more was done.

The legislators of South Carolina, meeting at Charleston, in March 1759, refused to consider hostilities with the Cherokees as existing or to be apprehended; but Lyttelton set aside their decision as an invasion of the prerogative, which alone could treat of peace or war; and he demanded that these public avengers "should be delivered up or be put to death in their nation," as guilty of murders. "This would only make bad worse," answered the red men; "the great warrior will never consent to it;" at the same time they entreated peace. "We live at present in great harmony," wrote Demeré from Fort Loudoun; "and there are no bad talks."

Tranquillity and confidence were returning; but, in obedience to orders, Demeré insisted on the surrender or execution of the offending chiefs of Settico and Tellico, while Coytmore, at Fort Prince George, intercepted all ammunition and merchandise on their way to the upper nation. Consternation spread along the mountain-sides; the hand of the young men grasped at the tomahawk; the warriors spoke much together concerning Settico and Tellico, and hostile speeches were sent round. Still they despatched to Charleston a letter with friendly strings of wampum, while the middle and the lower settlements, which had taken no part in the expedition complained of, sent their belts of white shells.

Lyttelton rigorously enforced the interruption of trade as a chastisement; and added: "If you desire peace with us, and will send deputies to me as the mouth of your nation, I promise you, you shall come and return in safety."

The Indians had grown dependent on civilization; and to withhold supplies was like disarming them. The English, said they, would leave us defenceless, that they may utterly

destroy us. Belts circulated more and more among the villages. They narrowly watched the roads, that no white man might pass. "We have nothing to do," said some among them, wild with rage, "but to kill the white people here, and carry their scalps to the French, who will supply us with plenty of ammunition and everything else." The nation was, however, far from being united against the English; but a general distrust prevailed.

Lyttelton instantly gave orders to the colonels of three regiments of militia nearest the frontier to fire an alarm and assemble their corps; called out all the regulars and provincials in Charleston; asked aid of the governors of Georgia and North Carolina; invited Virginia to send re-enforcements and supplies to Fort Loudoun by the road from that province; sought the active alliance of the Chicasas as ancient enemies to the French; of the Catawbas, the Tuscaroras, and even the Creeks, whose hostility he pretended to have feared; and then convening the legislature, on the fifth of October sent a message to the assembly for supplies. They replied by an address, "unanimously desiring him to defer a declaration of war." He readily consented, promising that "he would do nothing to prevent an accommodation;" on which the assembly made grants of money, and provided for calling fifteen hundred men into service, if necessary. The perfidious governor reproved them for the scantiness of the supply; and, breaking his promise, not yet a day old, he announced that "he should persevere in his intended measures."

On the twelfth of October, he ordered the alarm to be extended to all parts of the province where it had not been before; and "one half of the militia was drafted to be in readiness to repel any invasion or suppress any insurrection that might happen during his absence."

But hardly had the word been spoken when, on the seventeenth, Oconostata, the great warrior himself, with thirty other of the most honored men from the upper and lower towns, relying on their safe conduct from the governor, arrived in Charleston to deplore all deeds of violence, and to say that their nation truly loved peace. Bull, the lieutenant-governor, urged the wisdom of making an agreement before more blood should be spilt.

"I am come," said Oconostata in council, on the eighteenth, "to hearken to what you have to say, and to deliver words of friendship." But Lyttelton would not speak to them, saying: "I did not invite you to come down; I only permitted you to do so; therefore, you are to expect no talk from me till I hear what you have to say."

The next day, the proud Oconostata condescended to recount what had been ill done, explained its causes, declared that the great civil chief of the Cherokees loved and respected the English, and, making an offering of deer-skins, and pleading for a renewal of trade, he added for himself: "I love the white people; they and the Indians shall not hurt one another; I reckon myself as one with you."

Tiftoe of Keowee complained of Coytmore, the officer in command at Fort Prince George, as intemperate and licentious; but still he would hold the English fast by the hand. The head warrior of Estatoe would have "the trade go on, and no more blood spilt." Killianaca, the Black Dog of Hiwassie, was able to say that no English blood had ever been spilt by the young men of his village; and he gave assurances of peace from all the towns in his region. But the governor, in spite of the opposition of the lieutenant-governor, four of his council, and the express request of a unanimous assembly, answered them: "I am now going with a great many of my warriors to your nation to demand satisfaction. If you will not give it when I come, I shall take it."

Oconostatà and those with him claimed for themselves the benefit of the safe conduct under which they had come down. And Lyttelton spoke, concealing his purpose under words more false than the wiles of the savage: "You, Oconostata, and all with you, shall return in safety to your own country; it is not my intention to hurt a hair of your head. There is but one way by which I can insure your safety; you shall go with my warriors, and they shall protect you."

On Friday, the twenty-seventh, Lyttelton, with the Cherokee envoys, left Charleston to repair to Congaree, the gathering-place for the militia of Carolina. Thither came Christopher Gadsden, born in 1724, long the colonial representative of Charleston, dear to his constituents; at whose instance, and

under whose command, an artillery company had just been formed, in a province which till then had not had a mounted field-piece. There, too, was Francis Marion, as yet an untried soldier, just six-and-twenty, the youngest of five sons of an impoverished planter; reserved and silent; small in stature, and of a slender frame; so temperate that he drank only water; elastic, persevering, and of sincerest purity of soul. Yet the state of the troops, both as to equipments and temper, was such as might have been expected from the suddenness of their summons to the field against the judgment of their legislature. It was still hoped that there would be no war. But before leaving Congaree, Oconostata and his associates were arrested, though their persons were sacred by the laws of savage and of civilized man; and, on arriving at Fort Prince George, they were crowded into a hut hardly large enough for six of them.

To Attakulla-kulla, the Little Carpenter, an old man, who in 1730 had been in England, but now was devoid of influence in the tribe, Lyttelton, on the eighteenth of December, pronounced a long speech, rehearsing the conditions of their treaty. "Twenty-four men of your nation," said he, "I demand to be delivered up to me, to be put to death, or otherwise disposed of, as I shall think fit. Your people have killed that number of ours, and more; and, therefore, that is the least I will accept of. To-morrow morning I shall expect your answer." "I have ever been the firm friend of the English," answered the chief; "I will ever continue so; but, for giving up the men, we have no authority one over another."

Yet after the governor had exchanged Oconostata and one or two more for other Indians, he sent again to Attakulla-kulla, and, on the twenty-sixth of December, procured the signature of six Cherokees to a treaty of peace, which seemed to sanction the governor's retaining the imprisoned envoys as hostages till four-and-twenty men should be delivered up. It was further covenanted that the French should not be received in their towns, and that the English traders should be safe.

This treaty was not made by duly authorized chiefs, nor ratified in council; nor could Indian usage give effect to its conditions. Hostages are unknown in the forest, where pris

oners are the slaves of their captors. Lyttelton, in fact, violated the word he had plighted, and retained in prison the ambassadors of peace, true friends to the English, "the beloved men," of the Cherokees, who had come to him under his own safe conduct. Yet he gloried in having obtained concessions such as savage man had never before granted; and, returning to Charleston, took to himself the honor of a triumphant entry.

The Cherokees longed to secure peace; but the young warriors, whose names were already honored in the glades of Tennessee, could not be surrendered to death or servitude; and Oconostata resolved to rescue the hostages. The commandant at Fort Prince George was lured to a dark thicket by the river side, and was shot by Indians in an ambush. The garrison, in their anger, butchered every one of their prisoners.

At the news of the massacre, the villages, of which there was scarce one that did not wail for a chief, quivered with anger, like a chafed rattlesnake in the heats of midsummer. The "spirits," said they, "of our murdered brothers are flying around us, screaming for vengeance." The mountains echoed the war-song; and the braves dashed upon the frontiers for scalps, even to the skirts of Ninety-Six. In their attack on that fort, several of them fell. "We fatten our dogs with their carcasses," wrote Francis to Lyttelton; "and display their scalps, neatly ornamented, on the tops of our bastions." Yet Fort Loudoun, on the Tennessee, was beyond the reach of succor. From Louisiana the Cherokees obtained military stores; and, extending their alliance, they exchanged with the restless Muskohgees the swans' wings painted with red and black, and crimsoned tomahawks that were the emblems of war.

At the meeting of the Carolina legislature, in February 1760, the delegates, still more alarmed at the unwarrantable interference of Lyttelton with the usages of colonial liberty, first of all vindicated "their birthrights as British subjects," and resisted "the violation of undoubted privileges." But the lords of trade never could find words strong enough to express their approbation of his whole conduct; and he was transferred from South Carolina to the more lucrative government of Jamaica.

In April, General Amherst detached from the central army

that had conquered Ohio six hundred Highlanders and six hundred royal Americans under Colonel Montgomery, afterward Lord Eglinton, and Major Grant, to strike a sudden blow at the Cherokees and return. At Ninety-Six, near the end of May, they joined seven hundred Carolina rangers, among whom William Moultrie, and, as some think, Marion, served as officers.

On the first day of June, the army moved onward through the woods to surprise Estatoe. The baying of a watch-dog alarmed the village of Little Keowee, when the English rushed upon its people, and killed nearly all except women and children.

Early in the morning they arrived at Estatoe, which its inhabitants had but just abandoned, leaving their mats still warm. The vale of Keowee is famed for its beauty and fertility, extending for seven or eight miles, till a high, narrow ridge of hills comes down on each side to the river. Below the ridge it opens for ten or twelve miles more. This lovely region was the delight of the Cherokees; on the adjacent hills stood their habitations, and the rich level ground beneath bore their fields of maize, all clambered over by the prolific bean. The river now flowed in gentle meanders, now with arrowy swiftness, or beat against hills that are the abutments of loftier mountains. Every village of the Cherokees within this beautiful country, Estatoe, Qualatchee, and Conasatchee with its stockaded town-house, was first plundered and then destroyed by fire. The Indians were plainly observed on the tops of the mountains, gazing at the flames. For years, the half-charred rafters of their dwellings might be seen on the desolate hillsides. "I could not help pitying them a little," writes Grant; "their villages were agreeably situated; their houses neatly built; there were everywhere astonishing magazines of corn, which were all consumed." The surprise was in every town almost equal, for the whole was the work of a few hours; the Indians had no time to save even what they valued most, but left for the pillagers money and watches, wampum and skins. From sixty to eighty Cherokees were killed; forty, chiefly women and children, were made prisoners.

Resting at Fort Prince George, Montgomery sent Tiftoe and the old warrior of Estatoe through the upper and middle towns, to summon their head men to treat of peace. But the

chiefs of the Cherokees gave no heed to the message; and the British army prepared to pass the barriers of the Alleghany.

On the twenty-sixth of June 1760, he marched through the Blue Ridge at the Rabun Gap, and made his encampment at the deserted town of Stecoe. The royal Scots and Highlanders trod the dangerous defiles with fearless alacrity, and seemed refreshed by coming into the presence of mountains.

On the morning of the twenty-seventh, the party began their march early, having a distance of eighteen miles to travel to the town of Etchowee, the nearest of the middle settlements of the Cherokees. "Let Montgomery be wary," wrote Washington; "he has a subtle enemy, that may give him most trouble when he least expects it." The army passed down the valley of the Little Tennessee, along the mountain stream which, taking its rise in Rabun county in Georgia, flows through Macon county in North Carolina. Not far from Franklin, their path lay along the muddy river with its steep, clay banks, through a plain covered with the dense thicket, overlooked on one side by a high mountain, and on the other by hilly, uneven ground. At this narrow pass, which was then called Crow's creek, the Cherokees emerged from an ambush. Morrison, a gallant officer, was killed at the head of the advanced party. But the Highlanders and provincials drove the enemy from their lurking-places; and, returning to their yells three huzzas and three waves of their bonnets and hats, they chased them from height and hollow. At the ford, the army passed the river; and, protected by it on their right, and by a flanking-party on the left, treading a path sometimes so narrow that they were obliged to march in Indian file, fired upon from the rear, and twice from the front, they were not collected at Etchowee till midnight, and after a loss of twenty men, besides seventy-six wounded.

For one day, and one day only, Montgomery rested in the heart of the Alleghanies. If he had advanced to relieve the siege of Fort Loudoun, he must have abandoned his wounded men and his baggage. On the following night, deceiving the Cherokees by kindling lights at Etchowee, the army retreated; and, marching twenty-five miles, they never halted till they came to War-Woman's creek, an upland tributary of the Savan-

nah. On the thirtieth, they crossed the Oconee Mountain, and on the first day of July reached Fort Prince George.

The retreat of Montgomery was the abandonment of the famished Fort Loudoun. By the unanimous resolve of the officers, James Stuart, afterward Indian agent for the southern division, repaired to Chotee, and agreed on terms of capitulation, which neither party observed; and, on the morning of the eighth of August, Oconostata himself received the surrender of the fort, and sent its garrison of two hundred on their way to Carolina. The next day, at Telliquo, the fugitives were surrounded; Demeré and three other officers, with twenty-three privates, were killed. The Cherokee warriors were very exact in that number, for it was the number of their hostages who had been slain in prison. The rest were brought back and distributed among the tribes. Their English prisoners, including captives carried from the back settlements of North and South Carolina, were thought to have amounted to near three hundred.

Having fulfilled the letter of his instructions by reaching the country of the Cherokees, Montgomery, slighting the unanimous entreaty of the general assembly for protection of the back settlements, and leaving only four companies of royal Scots, embarked in all haste for Halifax by way of New York. Afterward, in his place in the house of commons, he acted with those who thought the Americans factious in peace and feeble in war.

Ellis, the governor of Georgia, wiser than Lyttelton, secured the good-will of the Creeks.

CHAPTER XVI.

POSSESSION TAKEN OF THE COUNTRY ON THE LAKES. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED.

1760.

On the inactivity of Amherst, Levi, Montcalm's successor, concentrated the remaining forces of France at Jacques Cartier for the recovery of Quebec. George Townshend, then in England, publicly rejected the opinion "that it was able to hold out a considerable siege;" and Murray, preparing for "the last extremity," selected the isle of Orleans as his refuge.

As soon as the river opened, Levi proceeded, with an army of less than ten thousand men, to besiege Quebec. On the twenty-eighth of April, Murray, marching out from the city, left the advantageous ground which he first occupied, and hazarded an attack near Sillery Wood. The advance-guard, under Bourlamarque, returned it with ardor. In danger of being surrounded, Murray was obliged to fly, leaving "his very fine train of artillery," and losing a thousand men. The French appear to have lost about three hundred, though Murray's report increased it more than eightfold. During the next two days, Levi opened trenches against the town; but the frost delayed the works. The English garrison, reduced to twenty-two hundred effective men, labored with alacrity; women, and even cripples, were set to light work. In the French army, not a word would be listened to of the possibility of failure. But Pitt had foreseen and prepared for all. A fleet at his bidding went to relieve the city; and to his wife he was able to write in June: "Join, my love, with me, in most humble and grateful thanks to the Almighty. Swanton arrived at Quebec in the Vanguard on the fifteenth of May,

and destroyed all the French shipping, six or seven in number. The siege was raised on the seventeenth with every happy circumstance. The enemy left their camp standing; abandoned forty pieces of cannon. Happy, happy day! My joy and hurry are inexpressible."

When the spring opened, Amherst had no difficulties to encounter in taking possession of Canada but such as he himself should create. A country suffering from a four years' scarcity, a disheartened peasantry, five or six battalions, wasted by incredible services and not recruited from France, offered no opposition. Amherst led the main army of ten thousand men by way of Oswego; though the labor of getting there was greater than that of proceeding directly upon Montreal. He descended the St. Lawrence cautiously, taking possession of the feeble works at Ogdensburg. Treating the helpless Canadians with humanity, and with no loss of lives except in passing the rapids, on the seventh of September 1760, he met before Montreal the army under Murray. The next day, Haviland arrived with forces from Crown Point; and, in the view of the three armies, the flag of St. George was raised in triumph over the gate of Montreal, the admired island of Jacques Cartier, the ancient hearth of the council-fires of the Wyandots, the village consecrated by the Romish church to the Virgin Mary, a site connected by rivers and lakes with an inland world, and needing only a milder climate to be one of the most attractive spots on the continent. The capitulation included all Canada, which was said to extend to the crest of land dividing branches of Lakes Erie and Michigan from those of the Miami, the Wabash, and the Illinois rivers. Property and religion were cared for in the terms of surrender; but for civil liberty no stipulation was thought of. Canada, under the forms of a despotic administration, came into the possession of England by conquest; and in a conquered country the law was held to be the pleasure of the king.

On the fifth day after the capitulation, Rogers departed with two hundred rangers to carry English banners to the upper posts. In the chilly days of November, they embarked upon Lake Erie, being the first considerable party of men whose tongue was the English that ever spread sails on its

waters. The Indians on the lakes were at peace, united under Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas, happy in a country fruitful of corn and abounding in game. The Americans were met at the mouth of a river by a deputation of Ottawas. "Pontiac," said they, "is the chief and lord of the country you are in; wait till he can see you."

When Pontiac and Rogers met, the savage chieftain asked: "How have you dared to enter my country without my leave?" "I come," replied the English agent, "with no design against the Indians, but to remove the French;" and he gave the wampum of peace. But Pontiac returned a belt, which arrested the march of the party till his leave should be granted.

The next day, the chief sent presents of bags of parched corn, and at a second meeting smoked the calumet with the American leader, inviting him to pass onward, and ordering an escort of warriors to assist in driving his herd of oxen along the shore. The tribes south-east of Erie were told that the strangers came with his consent; yet, while he studied to inform himself how wool could be changed into cloth, how iron could be extracted from the earth, how warriors could be disciplined like the English, he spoke as an independent prince, who would not brook the presence of white men within his dominions but at his pleasure. After this interview, Rogers took possession of Detroit.

England began hostilities for Nova Scotia and the Ohio. These she had secured, and had added Canada and Guadaloupe. "I will snatch at the first moment of peace," said Pitt. "The desire of my heart," said George II. to parliament, "is to see a stop put to the effusion of blood;" and the public mind was discussing what conquests should be retained.

"We have had bloodshed enough," urged Pulteney, earl of Bath, who, when in the house of commons, had been cherished in America as the friend of its liberties, and now, in his old age, pleaded for the termination of a truly national war by a solid and reasonable peace. "Our North American conquests," said he, "can not be retaken. Give up none of them, or you lay the foundation of another war. Unless we would choose to be obliged to keep great bodies of troops in America, in full peace, we can never leave the French any footing in

Canada. Not Senegal and Goree, nor even Guadaloupe, ought to be insisted upon as a condition of peace, provided Canada be left to us." "North America" was of "infinite consequence," for, by its increasing inhabitants, it would consume British manufactures; by its trade, employ innumerable British ships; by its provisions, support the sugar islands; by its products, fit out the whole navy of England.

Peace, too, was to be desired in behalf of England's ally, the only Protestant sovereign in Germany who could preserve the privileges of his religion from being trampled under foot. "How calmly," said Bath, "the king of Prussia possesses himself under distress! how ably he can extricate himself!" having "amazing resources in his own unbounded genius." "The warm support of the Protestant nation" of Great Britain must be called forth, or "the war begun to wrest Silesia from him" will, "in the end, be found to be a war" to "overturn the liberties and religion of Germany." Peace was, moreover, to be solicited from love to political freedom. The increase of the navy, army, and public debt, and the consequent influence of the crown, were "much too great for the independence of the constitution."

But William Burke, the kinsman and friend, and often the associate, of Edmund Burke, found arguments for retaining Guadaloupe, in the opportunity it would afford of profitable investment, the richness of its soil, the number of its slaves, the absence of all rivalry between England and a tropical island. Besides, he added, "if the people of our colonies find no check from Canada, they will extend themselves almost without bound into the inland parts. They will increase infinitely from all causes. What will be the consequence, to have a numerous, hardy, independent people, possessed of a strong country, communicating little or not at all with England?

"By eagerly grasping at extensive territory, we may run the risk, and in no very distant period, of losing what we now possess. A neighbor that keeps us in some awe is not always the worst of neighbors. So that, far from sacrificing Guadaloupe to Canada, perhaps, if we might have Canada without any sacrifice at all, we ought not to desire it. There should be a balance of power in America."

Private letters from Guadaloupe gave warning that the acquisition of Canada would strengthen America to revolt. "One can foresee these events clearly," said the unnamed writer; "it is no gift of prophecy. It is a natural and unavoidable consequence. The islands, from their weakness, can never revolt; but, if we acquire all Canada, we shall soon find North America itself too powerful and too populous to be governed by us at a distance."

If Canada were annexed, "the Americans," it was objected in conversation, "would be at leisure to manufacture for themselves."

On the other side, Benjamin Franklin, then in London as the agent of Pennsylvania, defended the annexation of Canada as the only mode of securing America. The Indians, from the necessity of commerce, would cease to massacre the planters, and cherish perpetual peace. There would be no vast inland frontier to be defended against France at an incalculable expense. The number of British subjects would, indeed, increase more rapidly than if the mountains were to remain their barrier; but they would be more diffused, and their employment in agriculture would free England from the fear of American manufactures. "With Canada in our possession," he remarked, "our people in America will increase amazingly. I know that their common rate of increase is doubling their numbers every twenty-five years by natural generation only, exclusive of the accession of foreigners. This increase continuing would, in a century more, make the British subjects on that side the water more numerous than they now are on this." Should the ministry surrender their own judgment to the fears of others, it would "prevent the assuring to the British name and nation a stability and permanency that no man acquainted with history durst have hoped for till our American possessions opened the pleasing prospect."

To the objection that England could supply only the sea-coast with manufactures, Franklin evoked the splendid vision of the future navigation on the great rivers and inland seas of America. The poor Indian on Lake Superior was already able to pay for French and English wares; and would not industrious settlers in those countries be better able to pay for what should be brought them?

"The trade to the West India islands," he continued, "is valuable; but it has long been at a stand. The trade to our northern colonies is not only greater, but yearly increasing with the increase of people, and even in a greater proportion, as the people increase in wealth.

"That their growth may render them dangerous I have not the least conception. We have already fourteen separate governments on the maritime coast of the continent, and shall probably have as many more behind them on the inland side. Their jealousy of each other is so great they have never been able to effect a union among themselves, nor even to agree in requesting the mother country to establish it for them. If they could not agree to unite for their defence against the French and Indians, who were perpetually harassing their settlements, burning their villages, and murdering their people, is there any danger of their uniting against their own nation, which they all love much more than they love one another?

"Such a union is impossible, without the most grievous tyranny and oppression. While the government is mild and just, while important civil and religious rights are secure, people will be dutiful and obedient. The waves do not rise but when the winds blow."

Appealing to men of letters, Franklin communed with David Hume on the jealousy of trade, and approved the system of political economy that promises to the world freedom of commerce and mutual benefits from mutual prosperity. He rejoiced that the great master of English historic style loved to promote that common good of mankind, which the American, inventing a new form of expression, called "the interest of humanity;" and he summoned before the Scottish philosopher that audience of innumerable millions which a century or two would prepare in America for all who should write English well. England proudly accepted the counsels of magnanimity. Promising herself wealth from colonial trade, she was occupied by the thought of filling the wilderness, instructing it with the products of her intelligence, and blessing it with free institutions. Homer sang from isle to isle; the bards of England would find "hearers in every zone," and, in the admiration of genius, continent would respond to continent.

Pitt would not weigh the West India islands against half a hemisphere; he desired to retain them both, but, being overruled in the cabinet, he held fast to Canada. He made it his glory to extend the region throughout which English liberties were to be enjoyed; and yet at that very time the board of trade retained the patronage and internal administration of the colonies, and were persuaded more than ever of the necessity of radical changes in the government in favor of the central authority. While they waited for peace as the proper season for their interference, Thomas Pownall, the governor of Massachusetts, a statesman who had generous feelings but no logic, flashes of sagacity but no clear comprehension, who from inclination associated with liberal men even while he framed plans for strengthening the prerogative, affirmed, and many times reiterated, that the independence of America was certain, and near at hand. "Not for centuries," replied Hutchinson, who knew the strong affection of New England for the home of its fathers.

In the winter after the taking of Quebec, the rumor went abroad of the fixed design in England to remodel the provinces. Many officers of the British army expressed the opinion openly that America should be compelled to yield a revenue at the disposition of the crown. Some of them, at New York, suggested such a requisition of quit-rents as would be virtually a general land-tax, by act of parliament. "While I can wield this weapon," cried Livingston, the large landholder, touching his sword, "England shall never get it but with my heart's blood." In the assembly at New York, which had been chosen in the previous year, the popular party was strengthened by those who battled against Episcopacy; and the family of the Livingstons, descendants of Scottish Presbyterians, took a leading part. Of these were Philip, the popular alderman, a merchant of New York; William, who represented his brother's manor, a scholar, and an able lawyer, the incorruptible advocate of civil and religious liberty; and Robert R. Livingston, of Duchess county, an only son, heir to very large estates, a man of spirit and honor, of gentleness and candor.

On the other side, Cadwallader Colden, the president of the council, proposed to secure the dependence of the plantations

on the crown of Great Britain" by "a perpetual revenue," fixed salaries, and "an hereditary council of privileged landholders, in imitation of the lords of parliament." Influenced by a most "favorable opinion" of Colden's "zeal for the rights of the crown," Lord Halifax conferred on him the vacant post of lieutenant-governor of New York.

In New Jersey, Francis Bernard, its governor, a royalist, selected for office by Halifax, had, from 1758, the time of his arrival in America, courted favor by plans for enlarging royal power, which he afterward reduced to form. Pennsylvania, of all the colonies, led the van of what the royalists called "Democracy." Its assembly succeeded in obtaining its governor's assent to their favorite assessment bill, by which the estates of the proprietaries were subjected to taxation. They revived and continued for sixteen years their excise, which was collected by officers of their own appointment; and they kept its "very considerable" proceeds solely and entirely at their own disposal. They sought to take from the governor influence over the judiciary, by making good behavior its tenure of office. Maryland repeated the same contests, and adopted the same policy.

The proprietaries of Pennsylvania, in March 1760, appealed to the king against seventeen acts that had been passed in 1758 and 1759, "as equally affecting the royal prerogative, their chartered immunities, and their rights as men." When, in May 1760, Franklin appeared with able counsel to defend the liberties of his adopted home before the board of trade, he was encountered by Pratt, the attorney-general, and Charles Yorke, the son of Lord Hardwicke, then the solicitor-general, who appeared for the prerogative and the proprietaries. Even the liberal Pratt, as well as Yorke, "said much of the intention to establish a democracy in place of his majesty's government," and urged upon "the proprietaries their duty of resistance." The lords of trade advised "to check the growing influence of assemblies by distinguishing the executive from the legislative power." When, in July, the subject was discussed before the privy council, Lord Mansfield moved, "that the attorney- and solicitor-general be instructed to report their opinion whether his majesty could not disapprove of parts of

an act and confirm other parts of it;" but so violent an attempt to extend the king's prerogative met with no favor. At last, of the seventeen acts objected to, the six which encroached most on the executive power were negatived by the king; but by the influence of Lord Mansfield, and against the advice of the board of trade, the assessment bill, which taxed the estates of the proprietaries, was made the subject of an informal capitulation between them and the agent of the people of Pennsylvania, and was included among those that were confirmed.

There were two men in England whose relation to these transactions is especially memorable: Pitt, the secretary of state for the colonies; and Edmund Burke, a man of letters, at that time in the service of William Gerard Hamilton, the colleague of Lord Halifax. Burke shared the opinions of the board of trade, that all the offensive acts of Pennsylvania should be rejected, and censured with severity the temporizing facility of Lord Mansfield as a feeble and unmanly surrender of just authority. The time was near at hand when the young Irishman's opinions upon the extent of British authority over America would become of moment. Great efforts were made to win the immediate interposition of William Pitt, so that he might appall the colonies by his censure, or mould them by British legislation. After long-continued inquiry, I can not find that he ever consented to menace any restriction on the freedom of the people in the colonies, or even so much as expressed an opinion that they were more in fault than the champions of prerogative. So little did he interest himself in the strifes of Pennsylvania that, during his ministry, Franklin was never admitted to his presence. Every one of his letters which I have seen—and I think I have read every considerable one to every colony—is marked by liberality and respect for American rights. The threat of interference, on the close of the war, was incessant from Halifax and the board of trade; I can trace no such purpose to Pitt.

American merchants were incited, by French commercial regulations, to engage in the carrying-trade of the French sugar-islands; and they gained by it immense profits. This trade was protected by flags of truce, which were granted by

the colonial governors. "For each flag," wrote Horatio Sharpe who longed to share in the spoils, "for each flag, my neighbor, Governor Denny, receives a handsome *douceur;* and I have been told that Governor Bernard, in particular, has done business in the same way." "I," said Fauquier, of Virginia, "have never been prevailed on to grant one, though I have been tempted by large offers, and pitiful stories of relations lying in French dungeons for want of such flags." In vehement and imperative words, Pitt rebuked the practice, but not with the intention permanently to restrain the trade of the continent with the foreign islands.

In August, the same month in which this interdict was issued, Francis Bernard was removed to the government of Massachusetts. In September of that year, he manifested the purpose of his appointment by informing the legislature of Massachusetts "that they derived blessings from their subjection to Great Britain." Subjection to Great Britain was a new doctrine in New England, whose people professed loyalty to the king, but shunned a master in the collective people of England. The council, in its reply, owned only a beneficial "relation to Great Britain;" the house of representatives spoke vaguely of "the connection between the mother country and the provinces, on the principles of filial obedience, protection, and justice."

The colonists had promised themselves, after the conquest of Canada, that they should "sit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, with none to make them afraid;" and already they began to fear aggressions on their freedom. To check illicit trade, the officers of the customs had even demanded of the supreme court general writs of assistance; but the writs had been withheld, because Stephen Sewall, the upright chief justice of the province, doubted their legality.

In September, Sewall died, to the universal sorrow of the province. Had the first surviving judge been promoted to the vacancy, a place would have been left open for James Otis, of Barnstable, at that time speaker of the house of representatives, a good lawyer, to whom a former governor had promised a seat on the bench; but Bernard appointed Thomas Hutchinson, who was already lieutenant-governor, councillor, and judge of

probate. A burst of indignation broke from the colony at this union of such high executive, legislative, and judicial functions in one person, who was not bred to the law, and was expected to interpret it for the benefit of the prerogative. Oxenbridge Thacher, a lawyer of great ability, a man of sagacity and patriotism, respected for learning and moderation, discerned the dangerous character of Hutchinson's ambition, and from this time denounced him openly and always; while James Otis, the younger, offended as a son and a patriot, resigned the office of advocate-general, and, by his eloquence in opposition to the royalists, set the province in a flame. But the new chief justice received the renewed application for writs of assistance, and delayed the decision of the court till he could write to England.

The lords of trade had matured their system. They agreed with what Dobbs had written from North Carolina, that "it was not prudent, when unusual supplies were asked, to litigate any point with the factious assemblies; but, upon an approaching peace, it would be proper to insist on the king's prerogative." "Lord Halifax was earnest for bishops in America;" and he hoped for success in that "great point, when it should please God to bless them with a peace." Ellis, the governor of Georgia, had represented the want of "a small military force" to keep the assembly from encroachments; Lyttelton, from South Carolina, and so many more, had sent word that the root of all the difficulties of the king's servants lay "in having no standing revenue." "It has been hinted to me," said Calvert, the secretary of Maryland, "that, at the peace, acts of parliament will be moved for amendment of government and a standing force in America, and that the colonies, for whose protection the force will be established, must bear at least the greatest share of charge. This," he wrote, in January 1760, "will occasion a tax;" and he made preparations to give the board of trade his answer to their propositions on the safest modes of raising a revenue in America by act of parliament.

"For all what you Americans say of your loyalty," observed Pratt, the attorney-general, better known in America as Lord Camden, to Franklin, "and notwithstanding your boasted affection, you will one day set up for independence." "No

such idea," replied Franklin, sincerely, "is entertained by the Americans, or ever will be, unless you grossly abuse them." "Very true," rejoined Pratt; "that I see will happen, and will produce the event."

Peace with foreign states was to bring for America an alteration of charters, a new system of administration, a standing army, and for the support of that army a grant of an American revenue by a British parliament. The decision was settled, after eleven years' reflection and experience, by Halifax and his associates at the board of trade, and for its execution needed only a prime minister and a resolute monarch to lend it countenance. In the midst of these schemes, the aged George II., surrounded by victory, died suddenly of apoplexy on the twenty-fifth day of October 1760.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE KING AND THE ARISTOCRACY AGAINST THE GREAT COMMONER. GEORGE III. DRIVES OUT PITT.

1760–1761.

THE new king went directly to Carleton house, the residence of his mother. The first person whom he sent for was Newcastle, whom he chose to regard as chief minister. Newcastle had no sooner entered Carleton house than Bute told him that the king would see him before holding a council. "Compliments from me," he added, "are now unnecessary. I have been and shall be your friend, and you shall see it." The veteran courtier caught at the naked hook as soon as thrown out, and answered in the same strain. The king praised his loyalty, and said: "My Lord Bute is your good friend; he will tell you my thoughts at large." Newcastle, in return, was profuse of promises; and, before the ashes of the late king were cold, the faithless duke was conspiring with the new influences on and around the throne.

On meeting the council, the king appeared agitated, and with good reason; for the address in which he was to announce his accession to the throne, having been drawn by Bute, set up adhesion to his plan of government as the test of honesty; described the war as "bloody" and expensive; and silently abandoned the king of Prussia. Newcastle, who was directed to read it aloud, seemed to find it unexceptionable. "Is there anything wrong in point of form?" was the only question asked by the king, and he then dismissed his ministers.

The great commoner discerned what was plotting; and, after an altercation of two or three hours with Lord Bute, he extorted the king's reluctant consent to substitute words

marked by dignity, nationality, and fidelity to his allies. The wound to the royal authority rankled in the breast of the king; he took care to distinguish Newcastle above all others; and, on the third day after his accession, against the declared opinion of Pitt, he called Bute, who was but his groom of the stole, to the cabinet.

A greater concourse of "the beauty and gentility" of the kingdom attended him at the opening of parliament than had ever graced that assembly. "His manner," said Ingersoll, of Connecticut, who was present, "has the beauty of an accomplished speaker. He is not only, as a king, disposed to do all in his power to make his subjects happy, but is undoubtedly of a disposition truly religious." Horace Walpole praised his grace, dignity, and good-nature in courtly verses, and began a correspondence with Bute. The poet Churchill did but echo the voice of the nation when he drew a picture of an unambitious, merciful, and impartial prince, and added:

"Pleased we behold such worth on any throne,
And doubly pleased we find it on our own."

"Our young man," wrote Holdernesse, one of the secretaries of state, "is patient and diligent in business, and gives evident marks of perspicuity and good sense." "He applies himself thoroughly to his affairs, and understands them astonishingly well," reported Barrington, the secretary at war, a few weeks later. "His faculties seem to me equal to his good intentions. A most uncommon attention; a quick and just conception; great mildness, great civility, which takes nothing from his dignity; caution and firmness—are conspicuous in the highest degree." Charles Townshend described "the young man as very obstinate."

The ruling passion of George III., early developed and indelibly branded in, was the restoration of the prerogative, which in America the provincial assemblies had resisted and defied; which in England had one obstacle in the rising importance of the people, and another in what his friends called "the inveterate usurpation of oligarchy." From the day of his accession he displayed an innate love of authority, and, with a reluctant yielding to present hindrances, the reserved purpose of asserting his self-will. To place himself above dic-

tation of all sorts, he was bent on securing "to the court the unlimited use of its own vast influence under the sole direction of its private favor."

In the approaching election he nominated to the king's boroughs, and where a public order gave permission to the voters in the king's interest to vote as they pleased, a private one was annexed, "naming the person for whom they were all to vote." George III. began his reign by competing with the aristocracy at the elections for the majority; and, in the choice of the twelfth parliament, he was successful.

On the nineteenth of March 1761, the day of the dissolution of the old parliament, a vacancy was made in the office of the chancellor of the exchequer. George Grenville, who piqued himself on his knowledge of finance, "expressed to his brother-in-law his desire of the vacant place; but Pitt took no notice of his wishes," and the neglect increased the coolness of Grenville. "Fortune," exclaimed Barrington, on receiving the appointment, "may at last make me pope. I am equally fit to be at the head of the church as of the exchequer."

Two days later, the resignation of Holdernesse was purchased by a pension and a reversion, and Bute took the seals for the northern department, accepting as his confidential under-secretary Charles Jenkinson, who had been put forward by George Grenville, and was a friend of the king. The appointments brought the king no strength. The earl of Bute was inferior to George III., even in those qualities in which that prince was most deficient; greatly his inferior in courage and energy of character. Timid by nature, he united persistence with pusillanimity, and, as a consequence, with duplicity: so that it is difficult to express adequately his unfitness for the conduct of a party, or the administration of public affairs.

At the same time, an office was given to an open and resolute opponent of Pitt's engagements with Germany; and Charles Townshend, who was, in parliament and in life, "forever on the rack of exertion," of ill-regulated ambition, unsteady in his political connections, inclining always to the king, yet so conscious of the power conferred on him in the house of commons by his eloquence as never to become the servant of the king's friends, was made secretary of war.

That there might be in the cabinet one man who dared to contradict Pitt and oppose his measures, the duke of Bedford, though without employment, was, by the king's command, summoned to attend its meetings.

These changes in the cabinet assured a conflict with the colonies; the course of negotiations for peace between England and France was still more momentous for America.

"Since we do not know how to make war, we must make peace," said Choiseul, who to the ministry of foreign affairs had, in January 1761, become minister of war, and was annexing to these departments the care of the marine. Kaunitz, of Austria, who might well believe that Silesia was about to be recovered for his sovereign, interposed objections. "We have these three years," answered Choiseul, "been sacrificing our interests in America to serve the queen of Hungary: we can do it no longer." Grimaldi, urging the utmost secrecy, "began working to see if he could make some protective alliance with France." "You have waited," he was answered, "till we are destroyed, and you are consequently of no use." And, on the twenty-fifth day of March, within five days of Bute's accession to the cabinet, Choiseul offered to negotiate separately with England. Pitt assented.

Choiseul was, like Pitt, a statesman of consummate ability; but, while Pitt overawed by the authoritative grandeur of his designs, Choiseul had the genius of intrigue. He carried into the cabinet restless activity and the arts of cabal. Pitt treated all subjects with stateliness; Choiseul discussed the most weighty in jest. Of high rank and great wealth, he was the first person at court, and virtually the sole minister. Did the king's mistress, who had ruled his predecessor, interfere with affairs, he would reply that she was handsome as an angel, but throw her memorial into the fire; and, with railleries and sarcasms, he maintained his exclusive power by a clear superiority of spirit and resolution. For personal intrepidity, he was distinguished even among the French gentry; and as he ruled the cabinet by his decided character, so he brought into the foreign politics of his country as daring a mind as animated any man in France or England. It was the judgment of Pitt that he was the greatest minister France had seen since the days of

Richelieu. In depth, refinement, and quick perceptions, he had no superior. To the dauphin, who cherished the traditions of the past, he said: "I may one day be your subject, your servant never." A free-thinker, an enemy to the clergy, and above all to the Jesuits, he united himself closely with the parliaments, and knew that public opinion was beginning to outweigh that of the monarch. Perceiving that America was lost to France, he proposed, as the basis of the treaty, that "the two crowns should remain each in the possession of what it had conquered from the other;" and, while he named epochs from which possession was to date in every continent, he was willing that England itself should suggest other periods. On this footing, which left Canada, Senegal, perhaps Goree also, and the ascendency in the East Indies to England, and to France nothing but Minorca to exchange for her losses in the West Indies, all Paris believed peace to be certain. George III. wished it from his heart; and, though the king of Spain proposed to France an alliance offensive and defensive, Choiseul sincerely desired repose.

To further the negotiations, Bussy, in May, repaired to London; and Hans Stanley to Paris.

With regard to the German war, France proposed that England, on recovering Hanover, should refrain from interference; and this policy was supported in England by the king and the duke of Bedford. The king of Prussia knew that Bute and George III. would advise him to make peace by the sacrifice of territory. "How is it possible," such were the words addressed by Frederic to Pitt, "how can the English nation propose to me to make cessions to my enemies—that nation which has guaranteed my possessions by authentic acts known to the whole world? I have not always been successful; and what man in the universe can dispose of fortune? Yet, in spite of the number of my enemies, I am still in possession of a part of Saxony, and I am firmly resolved never to yield it but on condition that the Austrians, the Russians, and the French shall restore to me everything that they have taken from me.

"I govern myself by two principles: the one is honor, and the other the interest of the state which Heaven has given me

to rule. The laws which these principles prescribe to me are: first, never to do an act for which I should have cause to blush, if I were to render an account of it to my people; and the second, to sacrifice for the welfare and glory of my country the last drop of my blood. With these maxims I can never yield to my enemies. Rome, after the battle of Cannæ; your great Queen Elizabeth, against Philip II. and the Invincible Armada; Gustavus Vasa, who restored Sweden; the prince of Orange, whose magnanimity, valor, and perseverance founded the republic of the United Provinces—these are the models I follow. You, who have grandeur and elevation of soul, disapprove my choice, if you can.

"All Europe turns its eye on the beginning of the reign of kings, and by the first fruits infers the future. The king of England has but to elect whether, in negotiating peace, he will think only of his own kingdom, or, preserving his word and his glory, he will have care for his allies. If he chooses the latter course, I shall owe him a lively gratitude; and posterity, which judges kings, will crown him with benedictions."

Pitt replied: "Would to God that the moments of anxiety for the states and the safety of the most invincible of monarchs were entirely passed away;" and Stanley, in his first interview with Choiseul, was instructed to avow the purpose of England to support its great ally "with efficacy and good faith."

When France expressed a hope of recovering Canada, as a compensation for her German conquests, "They must not be put in the scale," said Pitt to Bussy. "The members of the empire and your own allies will never allow you to hold one inch of ground in Germany. The whole fruit of your expeditions, after the immense waste of treasure and men, will be to make the house of Austria more powerful." "I wonder," said Choiseul to Stanley, "that your great Pitt should be so attached to the acquisition of Canada. In the hands of France, it will always be of service to you to keep your colonies in that dependence which they will not fail to shake off the moment Canada shall be ceded." He readily consented to abandon that province to England.

The restitution of the merchant ships, which the English

cruisers had seized before the war, was justly demanded. "The cannon," said Pitt, "has settled the question in our favor; and, in the absence of a tribunal, this decision is a sentence." "The last cannon has not yet been fired," retorted Bussy; and other desperate wars were to come for dominion and for equality on the seas. But the demand for indemnity would not have been persisted in.

Choiseul was ready to admit concessions with regard to demolishing the harbor of Dunkirk, if France could retain a harbor in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with the freedom of the fisheries; without these, he would decline further negotiation. Pitt refused the fisheries altogether. The union of France with Spain was the consequence. Toward his foreign enemies, Pitt looked in proud serenity; and yet he was becoming sombre and anxious, for he knew that his own king had prepared for him resistance in the cabinet.

"The peace which is offered," said Granville, the lord president, "is more advantageous to England than any ever concluded with France, since King Henry V.'s time." "I pray to God," said Bedford to Bute, in July, "his majesty may avail himself of this opportunity of excelling in glory and magnanimity the most famous of his predecessors by giving his people a reasonable and lasting peace. Will taking Martinique, or burning a few more miserable villages on the continent, be the means of obtaining a better peace than we can command at present, or induce the French to relinquish a right of fishery? Indeed," he pursued, with good judgment and good feeling, "the endeavoring to drive France entirely out of any naval power is fighting against nature, and can tend to no one good to this country; but, on the contrary, must excite all the naval powers in Europe to enter into a confederacy against us, as adopting a system of a monopoly of all naval power, dangerous to the liberties of Europe."

At the king's special request, Bedford attended the cabinet council of the twentieth of July, to discuss the conditions of peace. All the rest who were present cowered before Pitt. Bedford "was the single man who dared to deliver an opinion contrary to his sentiments." "I," said Newcastle, "envy him that spirit more than his great fortune and abilities." But the

union between France and Spain was already so far consummated that, in connection with the French memorial, Bussy had, on the fifteenth of July, presented a note, requiring, what it was known that Pitt could never concede, that England should afford no succor to the king of Prussia.

This note and this memorial, demanding various advantages for Spain, gave Pitt the advantage. To the private intercession of the king, he yielded a little, but in appearance only, on the subject of the fishery, and at the next council he presented his reply to France, not for deliberation, but acceptance. Bute dared not express dissent; and, as Bedford disavowed all responsibility and retired, Pitt, with the unanimous consent of the cabinet, returned the memorials relative to Prussia and to Spanish affairs as inadmissible, declaring that the king "would not suffer the disputes with Spain to be blended in the negotiations of peace between the two nations."

On the twenty-ninth of July, Stanley, bearing the ultimatum of England, demanded Canada; the fisheries, with a limited and valueless concession to the French, and that only on the humiliating condition of reducing Dunkirk; half the neutral islands, especially St. Lucia and Tobago; Senegal and Goree, that is, a monopoly of the slave-trade; Minorca; freedom to assist the king of Prussia; and British ascendency in the East Indies. The ministers of Spain and Austria could not conceal their exultation. "My honor," replied Choiseul to the English envoy, "will be the same fifty years hence as now; I admit without the least reserve the king's propensity to peace; his majesty may sign such a treaty as England demands, but my hand shall never be to that deed;" and, claiming the right to interfere in Spanish affairs, with the approbation of Spain he submitted modifications of the British offer.

On this point the king and his friends made a rally; and the answer to the French ultimatum, peremptorily rejecting it and making the appeal to "arms," was adopted in the cabinet by a majority of but one voice. "Why," asked George, as he read it, "were not words chosen in which all might have concurred?" and his agitation was such as he had never before shown. The friends of Bedford mourned over the continuance of the war, and the danger of its involving Spain.

On the fifteenth of August, the day on which Pitt despatched his abrupt declaration, Choiseul concluded that family compact which was designed to unite all the branches of the house of Bourbon as a counterpoise to the maritime ascendency of England. From the period of the termination of existing hostilities, France and Spain, in the whole extent of their dominions, were to stand toward foreign powers as one state. A war begun against one of the two crowns was to become the personal and proper war of the other. No peace should be made but in common. In war and in peace, each should regard the interests of his ally as his own; should reciprocally share benefits and losses, and make each other corresponding compensations.

On the same fifteenth of August, and not without the knowledge of Pitt, France and Spain concluded a special convention, by which Spain engaged to declare war against England, unless peace should be concluded between France and England before the first day of May 1762. Extending his eye to all the states interested in the rights of neutral flags—to Portugal, Savoy, Holland, and Denmark—Choiseul covenanted with Spain that Portugal should be compelled, and the others invited, to join a federative union "for the common advantage of all maritime powers."

Yet, still anxious for peace, and certain either to secure it or to place the sympathy of all Europe on the side of France, Choiseul resolved on a "most ultimate" attempt at reconciliation by abundant concessions; and, on the thirteenth day of September, just five days after the marriage of the youthful sovereign of England to a princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Bussy presented the final propositions of France. By Pitt, who was accurately informed of the special convention between France and Spain, they were received with disdainful indifference. A smile of irony and a few broken words were his only answer, and he became "more overbearing and impracticable" than ever. With one hand he prepared to "smite the whole family of Bourbons, and wield in the other the democracy of England." The vastest schemes flashed before his mind, to change the destinies of continents and mould the fortunes of the world. He resolved to seize the remaining French islands,

especially Martinique; to conquer Havana, to take Panama. The Philippine islands were to fall, and the Spanish monopoly in the New World was to be broken at one blow and forever, by a "general resignation of all Spanish America, in all matters which might be deemed beneficial to Great Britain."

On the eighteenth of September, Pitt, joined only by his brother-in-law, the earl of Temple, submitted to the cabinet his written advice to recall Lord Bristol, the British ambassador, from Madrid. "From prudence as well as spirit," affirmed the secretary, "we ought to secure to ourselves the first blow. If any war can provide its own resources, it must be a war with Spain. Their flota has not arrived; the taking it disables their hands and strengthens ours." Bute, speaking the opinion of the king, was the first to oppose the project as rash and ill-advised; Granville wished not to be precipitate; Temple supported Pitt; Newcastle was neuter. During these discussions, all classes of the people of England were gazing at the pageant of the coronation, or relating to each other how the king, kneeling before the altar in Westminster Abbey, reverently put off his crown as he received the sacrament from the archbishop. A second meeting of the cabinet was attended by all the ministers; they heard Pitt explain correctly the private convention by which Spain had bound itself to declare war against Great Britain in the following May, but they came to no decision. At a third meeting, all the great whig lords objected, having combined with the favorite to drive the great representative of the people from power. Newcastle and Hardwicke, Devonshire and Bedford, even Ligonier and Anson, as well as Bute and Mansfield, assisted in his defeat. Pitt, with his brother-in-law, Temple, stood alone. Stung by the opposition of the united oligarchy, Pitt remembered how he made his way into the cabinet. "This," he exclaimed to his colleagues, as he bade defiance to the aristocracy, and appealed from them to the country which his inspiring influence had rescued from disgrace, "this is the moment for humbling the whole house of Bourbon; if I cannot in this instance prevail, this shall be the last time I will sit in this council. Called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom I conceive myself accountable for my conduct, I will not remain in a situation

which makes me responsible for measures I am no longer allowed to guide." "If the right honorable gentleman," replied Granville, "be resolved to assume the right of directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we called to this council? When he talks of being responsible to the people, he talks the language of the house of commons, and forgets that at this board he is responsible only to the king."

The minister attributed his defeat not so much to the king and Bute as to Newcastle and Bedford; yet the king was himself a partner in the conspiracy; and, as he rejected the written advice that Pitt and Temple had given him, they resolved to retire. Grenville should have retired with his brother-in-law and brother; but, though he feared to offend his family, he loved his lucrative posts, and yielded to the solicitations of Bute, who assured him from the king that, if he would remain in the cabinet, "his honor should be the king's honor, his disgrace the king's disgrace."

On Monday, the fifth day of October, William Pitt—now venerable from years and glory, the greatest minister of his century, one of the few very great men of his age, among orators the only peer of Demosthenes, the man without title or fortune, who, finding England in an abyss of weakness and disgrace, conquered Canada and the Ohio valley and Guadaloupe, sustained Prussia from annihilation, humbled France, gained the dominion of the seas, won supremacy in Hindostan, and at home vanquished faction—stood in the presence of George to resign his power. The young and inexperienced king received the seals with ease and firmness, without requesting him to resume his office; yet he approved his past services, and made him an unlimited offer of rewards. At the same time, he expressed himself satisfied with the opinion of the majority of his council, and declared he should have found himself under the greatest difficulty how to have acted, had that council concurred as fully in supporting the measure proposed as they had done in rejecting it. The great commoner began to reply; but the anxious and never-ceasing application, which his post had required, combined with repeated attacks of hereditary disease, had shattered his nervous system. "I confess, sir," said he, "I had but too much reason to

expect your majesty's displeasure. I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodness; pardon me, sir, it overpowers me, it oppresses me;" and the man who by his words and his spirit had restored his country's affairs, and lifted it to unprecedented power and honor and self-reliance, burst into tears. On the next day, the king seemed impatient to bestow some mark of favor; and, as Canada had been acquired by the ability and firmness of his minister, he offered him that government, with a salary of five thousand pounds. But Pitt overflowed with affection for his wife and children. The state of his private affairs was distressed in consequence of the disinterestedness of his public conduct. "I should be doubly happy," he avowed, "could I see those dearer to me than myself comprehended in that monument of royal approbation and goodness." A peerage, therefore, was conferred on Lady Hester, his wife, with a grant of three thousand pounds on the plantation duties, to be paid annually during the lives of herself, her husband, and her eldest son; and these marks of the royal approbation, very moderate in comparison with his merits, if indeed those merits had not placed him above all rewards, were accepted "with veneration and gratitude." Thus he retired, having destroyed the balance of the European colonial system by the ascendency of England, confirmed the hostility of France and Spain to his country, and impaired his own popularity by surrendering his family as hostages to the aristocracy for a peerage and a pension.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ACTS OF TRADE PROVOKE REVOLUTION. THE REMODELLING OF THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS.

1761–1762.

THE legislature of Massachusetts still acknowledged that "their own resolve could not alter an act of parliament," and that every proceeding of theirs which was in conflict with a British statute was for that reason void. And yet the justice and the authority of the restrictions on trade was denied; and, when the officers of the customs made a petition for "writs of assistance" to enforce them, the colony regarded its liberties in peril. This is the opening scene of American resistance. It began in New England, and made its first battle-ground in a court-room. A lawyer of Boston, with a tongue of flame and the inspiration of a seer, stepped forward to demonstrate that all arbitrary authority was unconstitutional and against the law.

In February 1761, Hutchinson, the new chief justice, and his four associates, sat in the crowded council-chamber of the old town-house in Boston to hear arguments on the question whether the persons employed in enforcing the acts of trade should have power to demand generally the assistance of all the executive officers of the colony.

A statute of Charles II., argued Jeremiah Gridley for the crown, allows writs of assistance to be issued by the English court of exchequer; a colonial law devolves the power of that court on the colonial superior court; and a statute of William III. extends to the revenue officers in America like powers, and a right to "like assistance," as in England. To refuse the writ is, then, to deny that "the parliament of Great Britain is the sovereign legislator of the British empire."

Oxenbridge Thacher, who first rose in reply, showed, mildly and with learning, that the rule of the English courts was in this case not applicable to America.

But James Otis, a native of Barnstable, whose irritable nature was rocked by the impulses of fitful passions, disdaining fees or rewards, stood up amid the crowd as the champion of the colonies. "I am determined," such were his words, "to sacrifice estate, ease, health, applause, and even life, to the sacred calls of my country," "in opposition to a kind of power of which the exercise cost one king of England his head and another his throne." He pointed out that writs of assistance were "universal, being directed to all officers and subjects" throughout the colony, and compelling the whole government and people to render aid in enforcing the revenue laws for the plantations; that they were perpetual, no method existing by which they could be returned or accounted for; that they gave even to the menial servants employed in the customs, on bare suspicion, without oath, without inquiry, perhaps from malice or revenge, authority to violate the sanctity of a man's own house, of which the laws should be the battlements. "These writs" he described "as the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of the fundamental principles of law." And he entreated attention to an argument which rested on universal "principles founded in truth." Tracing the lineage of freedom to its origin, he opposed the claims of the British officers by the authority of "reason;" that they were at war with "the constitution," he proved by appeals to the charter of Massachusetts and its English liberties. The precedent cited against him belonged to the reign of Charles II., and was but evidence of the subserviency of some "ignorant clerk of the exchequer;" but, even if there were precedents, "all precedents," he insisted, "are under control of the principles of law." Nor could an express statute sanction the enforcement of acts of trade by general writs of assistance. "No act of parliament," such were his words, which initiated a revolution, "can establish such a writ; even though made in the very language of the petition, it would be a nullity. An act of parliament against the constitution is void." The majority of the judges were awe-struck, and, on the question before them,

believed him in the right. Hutchinson cowered before "the great incendiary" of New England. The crowded audience seemed ready to take up arms against the arbitrary enforcement of the restrictive system; especially the youngest barrister in the colony, the choleric John Adams, a stubborn and honest lover of his country, extensively learned and a bold thinker, listened in rapt admiration; and from that time could never read "any section of the acts of trade without a curse." The people of the town of Boston, a provincial seaport of merchants and ship-builders, with scarcely fifteen thousand inhabitants, became alive with political excitement. It seemed as if the words spoken on that day were powerful enough to break the paper chains that left to America no free highway on the seas but to England, and to open for the New World all the paths of the oceans.

The old members of the superior court, after hearing the arguments of Thacher and Otis, inclined to their side. But Hutchinson, who never grew weary of recalling to the British ministry this claim to favor, prevailed with his brethren to continue the cause till the next term, and in the mean time wrote to England. The answer came; and the subservient court, surrendering their own opinions to ministerial authority and disregarding law, granted writs of assistance whenever the officers of the revenue applied for them.

But Otis was borne onward by a spirit which mastered him, and increased in vigor as the storm rose. Gifted with a sensitive and most sympathetic nature, his soul was agitated in the popular tempest as the gold leaf in the electrometer flutters at the approach of the thunder-cloud. He led the van of American patriots; yet impassioned rather than cautious, disinterested and incapable of cold calculation, now foaming with rage, now desponding, he was often like one who, in his eagerness to rush into battle, forgets his shield. Though indulging in vehement personal criminations, he was wholly free from rancor; and, when the fit of passion passed away, was mild and easy to be entreated. His impulses were always for liberty, and full of confidence; yet his understanding, in moments of depression, would shrink back from his own inspirations. In the presence of an excited audience, he caught and increased the contagion,

and rushed onward with fervid and impetuous eloquence; but, away from the crowd, he could be soothed into a yielding inconsistency. Thus he toiled and suffered, an uncertain leader of a party, yet thrilling and informing the multitude; not steadfast in conduct, yet by flashes of sagacity lighting the people along their perilous way; the man of the American protest, not destined to enjoy his country's triumph.

The subserviency of Hutchinson increased the public discontent. Men lost confidence in the integrity of their highest judicial tribunal; for innovations under pretence of law were confirmed by judgments incompatible with English liberties. The admiralty court, hateful because instituted by a British parliament to punish infringements of the acts of trade in America without the intervention of a jury, had, in distributing the proceeds of forfeitures, violated the statutes which it was appointed to enforce. Otis endeavored to compel a restitution of the third of forfeitures, which by the revenue laws belonged to the king for the use of the province, but had been misappropriated. "The injury done the province" was admitted by the chief justice, who yet screened the fraud by inconsistently asserting a want of jurisdiction to redress it. The court of admiralty, in which the wrong originated, had always been deemed grievous, because unconstitutional; its authority seemed now established by judges devoted to the prerogative.

Unable to arrest the progress of illiberal doctrines in the courts, the people of Boston, in May 1761, with unbounded and very general enthusiasm, elected Otis one of their representatives to the assembly. "Out of this," said Ruggles to the royalist Chandler, of Worcester, "a faction will arise that will shake this province to its foundation."

Virginia resisted the British commercial system from abhorrence of the slave-trade. The legislature of Virginia had repeatedly shown a disposition to obstruct the commerce; a deeply seated public opinion began more and more to avow the evils and the injustice of slavery; and, in 1761, it was proposed to suppress the importation of Africans by a prohibitory duty. Among those who took part in the long and violent debate was Richard Henry Lee, the representative of Westmoreland. Descended from one of the oldest families in Virginia, he had been

educated in England; his first recorded speech was slavery, in behalf of human freedom. In the continued importation of slaves, he foreboded danger to the political and moral interests of the Old Dominion; an increase of the free Anglo-Saxons, he argued, would foster arts and varied agriculture, while a race doomed to abject bondage was of necessity an enemy to social happiness. He painted from ancient history the horrors of servile insurrections. He deprecated the barbarous atrocity of the trade with Africa, and its violation of the equal rights of men created like ourselves in the image of God. "Christianity," thus he spoke in conclusion, "by introducing into Europe the truest principles of universal benevolence and brotherly love, happily abolished civil slavery. Let us who profess the same religion practice its precepts, and, by agreeing to this duty, pay a proper regard to our true interests and to the dictates of justice and humanity." The tax for which Lee raised his voice was carried through the assembly of Virginia; but from England a negative followed every colonial act tending to diminish the slave-trade.

South Carolina, appalled by the great increase of its black population, endeavored by its own laws to restrain importations of slaves, and in like manner came into collision with the same British policy. But a war with the Cherokees weaned its citizens still more from Great Britain.

"I am for war," said Saloué, the young warrior of Estatoe, at a great council of his nation. "The spirits of our murdered brothers still call on us to avenge them; he that will not take up this hatchet and follow me is no better than a woman;" and hostilities were renewed. To reduce the mountaineers, General Amherst, early in 1761, sent about thirteen hundred regulars, under Lieutenant-Colonel James Grant, the same who, in 1758, had been shamefully beaten near Pittsburg. The province added as many more of its own citizens, under the command of Henry Middleton, who counted among his officers Henry Laurens, William Moultrie, and Francis Marion.

The Cherokees were in want of ammunition, and could not resist the invasion. The English, who endured hardships and losses in reaching and crossing the mountains, sojourned for thirty days west of the Alleghanies. They became masters of

every town in the middle settlement, and in the outside towns which lay on another branch of the Tennessee; and drove thousands of their inhabitants to wander among the mountains.

They extended their frontier seventy miles toward the west; and the chiefs were compelled to repair to Charleston, and there, with the royal governor and council, to covenant the peace and friendship which was to last as long as the light of morning should dawn on their villages, or fountains gush from their hillsides. Then all returned to dwell once more in their ancient homes. Around them, nature, with the tranquillity of exhaustless power, renewed her beauty; but for the men of that region the gladdening confidence of their independence in their mountain fastnesses was gone.

In these expeditions to the valley of the Tennessee, Gadsden and Middleton, Moultrie and Marion, were trained to arms. At Pittsburg, the Virginians, as all agreed, had saved Grant from utter ruin; the Carolinians believed his return from their western country was due to provincial courage. The Scottish colonel concealed the wound of his self-love by superciliousness. Resenting his arrogance with scorn, Middleton challenged him, and they met. The challenge was generally censured, for Grant had come to defend the province; but the long-cherished affection of South Carolina for England began to be mingled with disgust and anger.

New York was aroused to opposition, because within six weeks of the resignation of Pitt the independency of the judiciary was struck at throughout all America. On the death of the chief justice of New York, his successor, one Pratt, a Boston lawyer, was appointed at the king's pleasure, and not during good behavior, as had been done "before the late king's death." The assembly held the new tenure of judicial power to be inconsistent with American liberty; Monckton, coming in glory from Quebec to enter on the government of New York, before seeking fresh dangers in the West Indies, censured it in the presence of the council; even Colden advised against it. Pratt himself, after his selection for the vacant place on the bench, wrote that, "as the parliament at the revolution thought it the necessary right of Englishmen to have the judges safe from being turned out by the crown, the peo-

ple of New York claim the right of Englishmen in this respect." But, in November, the board of trade reported to the king against the tenure of good behavior, as "a pernicious proposition," "subversive of all true policy," "and tending to lessen the just dependence of the colonies upon the government of the mother country." The representation found favor with the king; and, as the first-fruits of the new system, on the ninth of December 1761, the instruction went forth, through Egremont, to all colonial governors, to grant no judicial commissions but during pleasure.

To make the tenure of the judicial office the king's will was to turn the bench of judges into instruments of the prerogative, and to subject the administration of justice throughout all America to an arbitrary and irresponsible power. The assembly of New York rose up against the encroachment, deeming it a deliberate step toward despotic authority; the standing instruction they resolved should be changed, or they would grant no salary whatever to the judges. "If I cannot be supported with a competent salary," wrote Pratt, in January 1762, "the office must be abandoned, and his majesty's prerogative must suffer." "Why," asked Colden, "should the chief justices of Nova Scotia and Georgia have certain and fixed salaries from the crown, and a chief justice of so considerable a province as this be left to beg his bread of the people?" And he reported to the board of trade the source of opposition in New York, saying: "For some years past three popular lawyers, educated in Connecticut, who have strongly imbibed the independent principles of that country, calumniate the administration in every exercise of the prerogative, and get the applause of the mob by propagating the doctrine that all authority is derived from the people." These "three popular lawyers" were William Livingston, John Morin Scott, and one who afterward turned aside from the career of patriotism, the historian William Smith.

"You adore the Oliverian times," said Bernard to Mayhew, at Boston. "I adore Him alone who is before all times," answered Mayhew; and at the same time avowed his zeal for the principles of "the glorious revolution" of 1688, especially for "the freedom of speech and of writing." The old Puritan strife about prelacy was renewed. Mayhew marshalled public

opinion against bishops, while Massachusetts, under the guidance of Otis, dismissed the Episcopalian Bollan, its honest agent, and, intending to select a dissenter who should be able to employ for the protection of its liberties the political influence of the nonconformists in England, it intrusted its affairs to Jasper Mauduit, who, though a dissenter, was connected through his brother, Israel Mauduit, with Jenkinson and Bute, with Mansfield and the king.

The great subject of discontent was the enforcement of the acts of trade by the court of admiralty, where a royalist judge determined questions of property without a jury, on information furnished by crown officers, and derived his own emoluments exclusively from his portion of the forfeitures which he himself had full power to declare. The governor, too, was sure to lean to the side of large seizures; for he by law enjoyed a third of all the fines imposed on goods that were condemned. The legislature, angry that Hutchinson, as chief justice, in defiance of the plain principles of law, should lend himself to the schemes of the crown officers, began to notice how many offices he had accumulated in his hands. Otis, with the authority of Montesquieu, pointed out the mischief of uniting in the same person executive, legislative, and judicial powers; but four or five years passed away before the distinction was much heeded, and in the mean time the judges were punished by a reduction of their salaries. The general writs of assistance, which were clearly illegal, would have been prohibited by a provincial enactment but for the negative of the governor.

The people were impatient of the restrictions on their trade, and began to talk of procuring themselves justice.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE DAWN OF THE NEW REPUBLIC. BUTE'S ADMINISTRATION.

1762–1763.

The queen, still in her honeymoon, expressed her joy at the resignation of Pitt. George Grenville, by consenting to take the conduct of the public business in the house of commons, estranged himself still more from his brother-in-law; but William Pitt was still a great power above the cabinet and in the state. He had infused his own spirit into the army and navy of England. The strings which he had struck still vibrated; his light, like that of an "annihilated star," still guided his country to deeds of danger and glory; and, in the first days of January 1762, the king, tardily adopting his counsels, declared war against Spain.

The Roman Catholic powers, France, Spain, Austria, and the German empire, the mighty authorities of the middle age, blessed by the consecrating prayers of the see of Rome, were united in arms; yet the policy of the Vatican could not control the war. The federation of the weaker maritime states presented itself to the world as the protector of equality on the seas.

In profound ignorance of the state of politics on the continent, George III., a week later, directed Sir Joseph Yorke, the British minister at the Hague, to tempt the empress of Austria to return to its old alliance with England by the hope of some ulterior acquisitions in Italy. The experienced diplomatist promptly hinted to his employers that the offer of the restoration of Silesia would be more effective. A clandestine proposition from England to Austria was a treachery to Frederic; it became infinitely more so, when success in the negotiation

would have pledged England's influence to compel Frederic to the retrocession of Silesia. "Her imperial majesty and her minister," said Kaunitz, "cannot understand the proper meaning of this confidential overture of the English;" and it did not remain a secret.

"To terminate this deadly war advantageously," thus wrote Frederic, the same month, to George III., "there is need of nothing but constancy; but we must persevere to the end. I see difficulties still without number; instead of appalling me, they encourage me by the hope of overcoming them." To break or bend the firm will of the king of Prussia, the British king and his favorite invited the interposition of Russia. So soon as it was known that the Empress Elizabeth was no more, and that she had been succeeded by her nephew, Peter III., who was devoted to Frederic, the British minister at St. Petersburg received a credit for one hundred thousand pounds to be used as bribes, and was treacherously instructed by Bute to moderate the zealous friendship of the new czar for the great continental ally of England.

The armies of Russia were encamped in East Prussia; to Gallitzin, the minister of Russia at London, Bute intimated that England would aid the emperor to retain the conquest, if he would continue to hold the king of Prussia in check. But the chivalric czar, indignant at the perfidy, enclosed Gallitzin's despatch to Frederic himself, restored to him all the conquests that had been made from his kingdom, settled with him a peace including a guarantee of Silesia, and finally transferred a Russian army to his camp. The Empress Catharine, who before midsummer succeeded her husband, withdrew from the war, and gave Europe the example of moderation and neutrality. Deserted by England, Frederic trod in solitude the paths of greatness.

During these negotiations, Monckton, with an army of twelve thousand men, assisted by Rodney and a fleet of sixteen sail of the line and thirteen frigates, appeared off Martinique; and, in February 1762, the richest and best of the French colonies, strongly guarded by natural defences which art had improved, was forced to capitulate. Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent's, were soon after occupied.

These successes encouraged the king's friends to rid themselves of Newcastle, who was receiving "all kinds of disgusts" from his associates in the cabinet. On occasion of withholding the subsidy from Prussia, he indulged with Bute his habit of complaint. He relates of the interview: "The earl never requested me to continue in office, nor said a civil thing to me;" and, most lingeringly, the veteran statesman resigned.

With him fell the old whig party, which had so long governed England. It needed to be purified by a long conflict with the inheritors of its methods of corruption before it could enter on the work of reform. But the power of the people was coming with an energy which it would be neither safe nor possible to neglect. In the days in which the old whig party of England was in its agony, Rousseau told the world that "the sovereignty of the people is older than the institutions which restrain it; and that these institutions are not obligatory, but by consent." With a foresight as keen as that of Lord Chesterfield, he wrote: "You put trust in the existing order of society, without reflecting that this order is subject to inevitable changes. We are approaching the state of crisis and the age of revolutions. I hold it impossible that the great monarchies of Europe should endure much longer."

On the retirement of Newcastle, Bute, near the end of May, transferring the seals of the northern department to George Grenville, became first lord of the treasury, the feeblest of British prime ministers; Bedford remained privy seal; Egremont, secretary of state for the southern department and America; and, early in June, Halifax entered the cabinet as first lord of the admiralty; Charles Townshend was still secretary at war, yet restless at occupying a station inferior to Grenville's; Lord North retained his seat at the treasury board.

But the exhausted condition of France compelled her to seek peace; in February and March, the subject had been opened for discussion through the ministers of Sardinia in London and Versailles; and, early in May, Bute was able to submit his project. Bedford approved, and accepted the embassy to France.

"A good peace with foreign enemies," said Hutchinson, from Massachusetts, as early as March, "would enable us to

make a better defence against our domestic foes." It had been already decided that every American judge should hold his appointment at the royal pleasure. Hardy, governor of New Jersey, having violated his instructions, by issuing a commission to judges during good behavior, was promptly dismissed; and, at the suggestion of Bute, William Franklin, the only son of the great adversary of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, became his successor.

When New York refused to vote salaries to Pratt, its chief justice, unless he should receive an independent commission, the board of trade, in June 1762, recommended that he should have his salary from the royal quit-rents. "Such a salary," it was pleaded to the board by the chief justice himself, "could not fail to render the office of great service to his majesty, in securing the dependence of the colony on the crown, and its commerce to Great Britain." It was further hinted that it would insure judgments in favor of the crown against all intrusions upon the royal domain by the great landed proprietors of New York, and balance their power and influence in the assembly. The measure was adopted. In New York, the king instituted courts, named the judges, removed them at pleasure, fixed the amount of their salaries, and paid them independently of legislative grants. The system, established as yet in one only of the older provinces, was intended for all. "The people," said this chief justice, who was transplanted from Boston to New York, "ought to be ignorant. Our free schools are the very bane of society; they make the lowest of the people infinitely conceited." *

The king expressed his displeasure at the "obstinate" disobedience of the assembly of Maryland, and censured its members as not "animated by a sense of their duty to their king and country." The reproof was administered, so wrote Egremont, "not to change their opinion," but "that they may not deceive themselves by supposing that their behavior is not seen here in its true light." A similar letter conveyed to Pennsylvania "the king's high disapprobation of their artfully evading to pay any obedience to requisitions."

No one was more bent on reducing the colonies to implicit

* Works of John Adams, ii. 97.

obedience than the blunt and honest, but self-willed duke of Bedford, who, on the sixth day of September 1762, sailed for France, with full powers to negotiate a peace.

His negotiations languished, because Grimaldi, for Spain, was persuaded that the expedition of the English against Havana would be defeated; but, before the end of September, unexpected news arrived.

Havana was then, as now, the chief place in the West Indies, built on a harbor large enough to shelter all the navies of Europe, capable of being made impregnable from the sea, having docks for constructing ships-of-war of the first magnitude, rich from the products of the surrounding country, and the centre of the trade with Mexico. Of this magnificent city England undertook the conquest. The command of her army, in which Carleton and Howe each led two battalions, was given to Albemarle, a friend and pupil of the duke of Cumberland. The fleet was intrusted to Pococke, already illustrious as the conqueror in two naval battles.

Assembling the fleet and transports at Martinique and off Cape St. Nicholas, the adventurous admiral sailed directly through the Bahama straits, and on the sixth day of June came in sight of the low coast round Havana. The Spanish forces for the defence of the city were about forty-six hundred; the English had eleven thousand effective men, and were recruited by nearly a thousand negroes from the Leeward islands, and by fifteen hundred from Jamaica. Before the end of July, the needed re-enforcements arrived from New York and New England; among these was Putnam, the brave ranger of Connecticut, and numbers of men less happy, because never destined to revisit their homes.

On the thirtieth of July, after a siege of twenty-nine days, during which the Spaniards lost a thousand men, and the brave Don Luis de Velasco was mortally wounded, the Moro Castle was taken by storm. On the eleventh of August, the governor of Havana capitulated, and the most important station in the West Indies fell into the hands of the English. At the same time, nine ships of the line and four frigates were captured in the harbor. The booty of property belonging to the king of Spain was estimated at ten millions of dollars.

This siege was conducted in midsummer, against a city which lies just within the tropic. The country round the Moro Castle is rocky. To bind and carry the fascines was, of itself, a work of incredible labor, made possible only by aid of African slaves. Sufficient earth to hold the fascines firm was gathered with difficulty from crevices in the rocks. Once, after a drought of fourteen days, the grand battery took fire from the flames, and, crackling and spreading where water could not follow it nor earth stifle it, was wholly consumed. The climate spoiled a great part of the provisions. Wanting good water, very many died in agonies from thirst. More fell victims to a putrid fever, of which the malignity left but three or four hours between robust health and death. Some wasted away with loathsome disease. Over the graves the carrion-crows hovered, and often scratched away the scanty earth which rather hid than buried the dead. Hundreds of carcasses floated on the ocean. And yet such was the enthusiasm of the English, such the resolute zeal of the sailors and soldiers, such the unity of action between the fleet and army, that the vertical sun of June and July, the heavy rains of August, raging fever, and strong and well-defended fortresses, all the obstacles of nature and art, were surmounted, and the most decisive victory of the war was gained.

The scene in the British cabinet was changed by the capture of Havana. Bute was indifferent to further acquisitions in America, for he held it "of much greater importance to bring the old colonies into order than to plant new ones;" but all his colleagues thought otherwise; and Bedford was unwilling to restore Havana to Spain except for the cession of Porto Rico and the Floridas. The king, who persisted in the purpose of peace, intervened. He himself solicited the assent of Cumberland to his policy; he caused George Grenville, who hesitated to adopt his views, to exchange with Halifax the post of secretary of state for that of the head of the admiralty; and he purchased the support of Fox as a member of the cabinet and Grenville's successor as leader of the house of commons by the offer of a peerage.

The principal representatives of the old whig party were driven into retirement, and the king was passionately resolved

never again to receive them into a ministry. In the impending changes, Charles Townshend coveted the administration of America; and Bute gladly offered him the secretaryship of the plantations and board of trade. Thrice Townshend had interviews with the king, whose favor he always courted; but, for the time, he declined the station, from an unwillingness to attach himself to Fox and Bute.

At that moment, men were earnestly discussing, in Boston, the exclusive right of America to raise and to apply its own revenues. The governor and council had, in advance of authority by law, expended three or four hundred pounds sterling on a ship and sloop, that for the protection of fishermen were to cruise against privateers. Otis, in September 1762, seized the opportunity in a report to claim the right of originating all taxes as the most darling privilege of the representatives. "It would be of little consequence to the people," said he, on the floor of the house, "whether they were subject to George or Louis, the king of Great Britain or the French king, if both were arbitrary, as both would be, if both could levy taxes without parliament." "Treason! treason!" shouted Paine, the member from Worcester. "There is not the least ground," said Bernard, in a message, "for the insinuation under color of which that sacred and well-beloved name is brought into question." Otis, who was fiery, but not obstinate, erased the offensive words; but immediately, claiming to be one

"Who dared to love his country and be poor,"

he vindicated himself through the press.

Invoking the authority of "the most wise, most honest, and most impartial Locke," "as great an ornament as the church of England ever had," because "of moderate and tolerant principles," and one who "wrote expressly to establish the throne which George III. now held," he undertook to reply to those who could not bear that "liberty and property should be enjoyed by the vulgar."

Deeply convinced of the reality of "the ideas of right and wrong," he derived his argument from original right. "God made all men naturally equal. The ideas of earthly grandeur are acquired, not innate. Kings were made for the good of the people, not the people for them. No government has a

right to make slaves of the subject. Most governments are, in fact, arbitrary, and, consequently, the curse and scandal of human nature; yet none are, of right, arbitrary. By the laws of God and nature, government must not raise taxes on the property of the people without the consent of the people or their deputies." "The advantage of being a Briton rather than a Frenchman consists in liberty."

As a question of national law, Otis maintained the rights of a colonial assembly to be equal to those of the house of commons, and that to raise or apply money without its consent was as great an innovation as it would be for the king and house of lords to usurp legislative authority. Nor did Otis fail to cite the preamble to the British statute of 1740, for naturalizing foreigners, where "the subjects in the colonies are plainly declared entitled to all the privileges of the people of Great Britain."

He warned "all plantation governors" not to spend their whole time, as he declared "most of them" did, "in extending the prerogative beyond all bounds;" and he pledged himself, "ever to the utmost of his capacity and power, to vindicate the liberty of his country and the rights of mankind."

The vindication of Otis filled the town of Boston with admiration of his patriotism. "A more sensible thing," said Brattle, one of the council, "never was written." By the royalists, its author was denounced as "the chief incendiary," a "seditious" "firebrand," and a "leveller." "I am almost tempted," confessed the unpopular Hutchinson, "to take for my motto, *Odi profanum vulgus*," hatred to the people. "I will write the history of my own times, like Bishop Burnet, and paint characters as freely; it shall not be published while I live, but I will be revenged on some of the rascals after I am dead;" and he pleaded fervently that Bernard should reserve his favor exclusively for "the friends to government." "I do not say," cried Mayhew from the pulpit, on the annual Thanksgiving Day, "our invaluable rights have been struck at; but, if they have, they are not wrested from us; and may righteous Heaven blast the designs, though not the soul, of that man, whoever he be among us, that shall have the hardiness to attack them."

The king, on the twenty-sixth of October, offering to return Havana to Spain for either the Floridas or Porto Rico, wrote to Bedford: "The best despatch I can receive from you will be these preliminaries signed. May Providence, in compassion to human misery, give you the means of executing this great and noble work." The terms proposed to the French were severe and even humiliating. "But what can we do?" said Choiseul, who, in his despair, had for a time resigned the foreign department to the Duke de Praslin. "The English are furiously imperious; they are drunk with success; and, unfortunately, we are not in a condition to abase their pride." France yielded to necessity; and, on the third day of November, the preliminaries of a peace so momentous for America were signed between France and Spain on the one side, and England and Portugal on the other.

To England were ceded, besides islands in the West Indies, the Floridas; Louisiana to the Mississippi, but without the island of New Orleans; all Canada; Acadia; Cape Breton and its dependent islands; and the fisheries, except that France retained a share in them, with the two islets St. Pierre and Miquelon, as a shelter for their fishermen. On the same day France ceded to Spain New Orleans and all Louisiana west of the Mississippi. In Africa, England acquired Senegal, with the command of the slave-trade. In the East Indies, France recovered, in a dismantled and ruined state, the little that she possessed on the first of January 1749. In Europe, Minorca reverted to Great Britain.

"England," said the king, "never signed such a peace before, nor, I believe, any other power in Europe." "The country never," said the dying Granville, "saw so glorious a war or so honorable a peace." On the ninth of December, the preliminaries were discussed in parliament. In the house of commons, Pitt spoke against the peace for more than three hours; for the first hour admirably, then with flagging strength, "though with an indisputable superiority to all others;" Charles Townshend, in a speech of but twenty-five minutes, answered him "with great judgment, wit, and strength of argument." On the division, the opponents of the treaty were but sixty-five against three hundred and nineteen.

On the tenth of February 1763, the treaty was ratified; and, five days afterward, the hero of Prussia won a triumph for freedom by the glorious treaty of Hubertsburg, which gave security of existence to his state without the cession of a hand's-breadth of territory.

Thus was arrested the course of carnage and misery; of sorrows in private life infinite and unfathomable; of wretchedness heaped on wretchedness; of public poverty and calamity; of forced enlistments and extorted contributions; and all the tyranny of military power in the day of danger. France was exhausted of one half of her specie; in many parts of Germany there remained not enough of men or of cattle to renew cultivation. The number of the dead in arms is computed at eight hundred and eighty-six thousand on the battle-fields of Europe, or on the way to them. And all this waste of life and of resources produced for those who planned it nothing but weakness and losses. Europe, in its territorial divisions, remained exactly as before. But in Asia and America how was the world changed!

In Asia, the victories of Clive at Plassey, of Coote at the Wandiwash, and of Watson and Pococke on the Indian seas, had given England the undoubted ascendency in the East Indies, opening to her suddenly the promise of territorial acquisitions without end.

In America, the English-speaking race, with its tendency to individuality and freedom, was become the master from the Gulf of Mexico to the poles; and the English tongue, which, but a century and a half before, had for its entire world parts only of two narrow islands on the outer verge of Europe, was now to spread more widely than any that had ever given expression to human thought.

Go forth, then, language of Milton and Hampden, language of my country, take possession of the North American continent! Gladden the waste places with every tone that has been rightly struck on the English lyre, with every English word that has been spoken well for liberty and for man! Give an echo to the now silent and solitary mountains; gush out with the fountains, that as yet sing their anthems all day long without response; fill the valleys with the voices of love in its

purity, the pledges of friendship in its faithfulness; and as the morning sun drinks the dewdrops from the flowers all the way from the dreary Atlantic to the Peaceful Ocean, meet him with the joyous hum of the early industry of freemen! Utter boldly and spread widely through the world the thoughts of the coming apostles of the people's liberty, till the sound that cheers the desert shall thrill through the heart of humanity, and the lips of the messenger of the people's power, as he stands in beauty upon the mountains, shall proclaim the renovating tidings of equal freedom for the race!

England enjoyed the glory of extended dominion, in the confident expectation of a boundless increase of wealth. Its success was due to its having taken the lead in the good old struggle for liberty; and its agency was destined to bring fruits not only to itself but to mankind.

In the first days of January 1763, it was publicly avowed, what had long been resolved on, that a standing army of twenty battalions was to be kept up in America after the peace; and that the expense should be defrayed by the colonists themselves. To carry the now long-promised measures into effect, thirteen days after the ratification of the peace of Paris, Charles Townshend, at the wish of the earl of Bute and with the full concurrence of the king, entered upon the office of first lord of trade with a seat in the cabinet.

During the negotiations for peace, the French minister for foreign affairs had frankly warned the British envoy that the cession of Canada would lead to the early independence of North America. Unintimidated by the prophecy, England happily persisted. So soon as the sagacious and experienced Vergennes, the French ambassador at Constantinople, a grave, laborious man, remarkable for a calm temper and moderation of character, heard the conditions of the treaty, he said to his friends, and even openly to a British traveller, and afterward himself recalled his prediction to the notice of the British ministry: "The consequences of the entire cession of Canada are obvious. I am persuaded England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They stand no longer in need of her protection; she will call on them to contribute toward supporting the burdens

they have helped to bring on her; and they will answer by striking off all dependence."

The colonial system, being founded on injustice, was at war with itself. The common interest of the great maritime powers of Europe in upholding it existed no more. The seven years' war, which doubled the debt of England, increasing it to seven hundred millions of dollars, was begun by her for the acquisition of the Ohio valley. She achieved that conquest, but not for herself. Driven out from its share in the great colonial system, France was swayed by its commercial and political interests, by its wounded pride, and by that enthusiasm which the support of a good cause enkindles, to take up the defence of the freedom of the seas, and to desire the enfranchisement of the English plantations. This policy was well devised; and England became not so much the possessor of the valley of the west as the trustee, commissioned to transfer it from the France of the middle ages to the free people who were making for humanity a new life in America.

END OF VOLUME II.

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